THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
BIBLE SOCIETY

BROOKLYN
PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Bible House,
Queen Victoria Street.

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

BY

WILLIAM CANTON

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. III

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1910

206
C23H
v.3

CONTENTS

FOURTH PERIOD, 1854—1884

CHAPTER I

PAGE

VICTORIAN ENGLAND

The New Bible House—The Building Fund—The Continental Agents—The Glamour of Science 1-10

CHAPTER II

MEANS AND EXPANSION

Colportage at Home — The First Biblewoman — Death of Mrs Ranyard — The Cotton Famine — "Free Contributions" — Glimpses of Three Continents 11-23

CHAPTER III

EVENTS AT THE BIBLE HOUSE

Old Bible Worthies — The Growth of Versions — Secretarial Changes—A Notable Year 24-31

CHAPTER IV

THE DISTRICT-SECRETARIES AT WORK

The Newcastle Auxiliary — Chester Lead Works — "The Three Counties" — The Drift of Population — A Great Welsh Secretary 32-42

CHAPTER V

PAGE

LONDON AND WALES

The Shipping on the Thames—The Fateful Minute-hand—The Division of Wales—Old Servants and New—Continental Tours—Progress in the Principality—Veteran Colporteurs . 43-57

CHAPTER VI

MEN AND THINGS NOTABLE

In Memory of Tindale—Cleopatra's Needle—Vulgate Versions—Hugh Stowell—Josiah Forster—George Moore—Old Bible Families—The Mission-child of St Erth—By the Grey Rocking-stone 58-73

CHAPTER VII

THE KINDRED SOCIETIES

Death of the First Agents—The American War 74-78

CHAPTER VIII

THE OPENING OF ITALY

Death of Mr Elsner—Hope in the Masses—Driven to Secession—The Archbishop's Imprimatur—Fruits of Crimean Work—The Bible in Naples—"The Power of the Keys"—Concessions in Austria—Progress in Germany—Care for the Blind—The Victory of Sadowa—Pius IX. by Candle-light 79-103

CHAPTER IX

THE *DÉBÂCLE*—FRENCH AND PAPAL

The French Colporteurs—An Official Recognition—French Bible Societies—Incidents in Paris—*Eine Feste Burg*—At Sedan—Colporteurs Decorated—Death of the Paris Agent—End of the Temporal Power 104-121

CHAPTER X

IN ITALY FREE

PAGE

A Bible Meeting in Rome—Mischievous Free Distribution—From Sea to Sea—The New Pope—Hopes Unfulfilled . . . 122-132

CHAPTER XI

REPUBLICAN FRANCE

A Critical Interval—An Evangelical Movement—Veterans of the Staff—Abroad with the Colporteur—Mischievous Zeal—The Undertaker's Bible 133-145

CHAPTER XII

GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

The Currents of Conflict — Bible-loving Paladins — Delitzsch's Hebrew Testament — Jubilee of the Agency — Issues and Expenditure — The Wartburg and Erfurt—The St Gothard Tunnel—The Work of Sixty Years 146-161

CHAPTER XIII

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Running the Blockade—The Church and the Law—A Candid Archbishop — The Irony of the Golden Rose—Mr Corfield's Agency—Basque and Catalan — The Forces of Reaction—Protestant Funerals — Gibraltar Auxiliary — Revolt of Press and Stage—"A Work of the Devil"—The Atlantic Islands—Ventura the Guitar-maker 162-187

CHAPTER XIV

ANOTHER START IN AUSTRIA

Peculiarity of Licences — A Japanese Inquirer — Austrian Arctic Expedition — The Bohemian Churches — Strange Helpers—Among the Polish Jews—"Show us your Christians!"—The Nazarenes—The Russo-Turkish War—Cost of the War Issues —Priestly Domination—Veterans 188-211

CHAPTER XV

PAGE

THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS

European Turkey—Syria and Palestine—Turkish Breach of Faith —The Bulgarian Bible—Formation of Roumania—Northern Albania — Tosk and Gheg — A Brigand's Talisman — The Osmanli Version—A Strange Imprint—The New Bulgaria—The Old Ionic Coast—The Isles of Greece—The Outlook in Greece—Stand of the Holy Synod—Issues of the Agency . 212-243

CHAPTER XVI

BARBARY, SYRIA, AND EGYPT

Scriptures in Maltese—Tunis and Algiers—A New Agency formed —The Agency of Morocco—Among the Maronites—A Jesuit Version — The Syrian Schools — Bethlehem and Nazareth—New Life in the Nile Valley — The Arabi Rising — The American Mission 244-265

CHAPTER XVII

"THE APOSTLES' WAY"

Eagerness for Scriptures in Abyssinia—Theodore's Outbreak—A Royal Bibleman—Days of Persecution—A Woeful Kingdom—Krapf's Dream of the Future — An Ideal Workman - Bishop —Bishop Steere's Grave—The Uganda Mission . . . 266-284

CHAPTER XVIII

ULTRAMONTANE BELGIUM

Roman Catholic Versions—Strange Use of the Gospels—Survivals of the Reformation — A Curious Coincidence — A Troubled Time—The Religious Orders 285-297

CHAPTER XIX

HOLLAND

The "Bible School" Movement — The Lighted Window of Rotterdam—After Quarter of a Century—Death of Mr Van der Bom — Colportage Scenes — Count John of Nassau — Aggregate Distribution 298-311

CHAPTER XX

THE MONOPOLY IN DENMARK

PAGE

The Royal Orphan House—The Bible in Chains—An Amazing Royalty—Progress of the Work—Icelandic Revision . . . 312-322

CHAPTER XXI

NORSE FELLS AND SWEDISH MERES

Revival in Tromsö—Range of the Colporteur—Some Old Friends—Other Bible Worthies—Developments in Sweden—Distribution and Population—Withdrawal from Sweden—The Society's Expenditure 323-339

CHAPTER XXII

IN ALL THE RUSSIAS

The Bible slowly yielded—A Russian Bible Society—First Steps in Siberia—Efforts in the South—The Volga and the Kama—Work begun at Irkutsk—A Russ Bible sanctioned—A Depôt in Central Asia—A Remarkable Translator—Persia and the Caucasus — The Peacock-Worshippers — Bokhara and Samarkand 340-364

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LAND OF THE LION AND THE SUN

The Harps on the Willows—For Christ's Sake 365-369

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MUTINY—AND AFTER

Doubts and Difficulties—Destruction of Scriptures—The Men who saved India—Christian Rule at last—A Cry of the Native Heart — Projected Agencies — Colonel Roxburgh's Fund—A White-robed Multitude — The Uriya Versions — A Great Baptist Scholar—Request for an Agent 370-392

CHAPTER XXV

PAGE

THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND BOMBAY

"Unharmed by Fire or Water"—The Panjab Auxiliary—Difficulties of Translation—Progress in the Panjab—The Bombay Versions—The Resource of Prayer—Not without Fruit . . . 393-408

CHAPTER XXVI

MADRAS AND CEYLON

The Madras Jubilee — Depôts and Colportage — The "Union" Tamil Bible—The Syro-Chaldaic Christians—Dakhani and Koi—The Colombo Auxiliary—The Worship of Îswara—Bible-women in the East 409-425

CHAPTER XXVII

IN THE FURTHER EAST

Version Work in Burma—Keasberry at Singapore—The Island Tongues—Expansion in Malaysia 426-433

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE AGENCIES IN CHINA

Some of the Great Names—The Turning-point—Arrival of the First Agent—Selling *versus* Giving—With Griffith John—New Versions — Development of Colportage—Dread of Christian Sorcery — Division into Agencies—How Books travel — The Colloquial Versions 434-456

CHAPTER XXIX

THE LAND OF THE MORNING

Christianity proscribed—The Modern Pioneers—The First Japanese Church—A Seeker after God—Japanese Version Work—A Bible Depôt opened—Division of Labour—"Friends of the Bible" 457-473

INDEX 475-486

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Bible House, Queen Victoria Street		*Frontispiece*
The Bible House, the Entrance	*To face p.*	48
The Bible House, Entrance Hall	„	96
The Rev. S. B. Bergne	„	144
The Rev. Charles Jackson	„	192
Mrs Ranyard	„	248
Dr F. Delitzsch	„	288
Bishop Steere	„	382

FOURTH PERIOD, 1854—1884

CHAPTER I

VICTORIAN ENGLAND

With the Jubilee of the Society the England of the Hanoverian kings may be said to have vanished completely into history. The thirty years which form the fourth period of our narrative were pure Victorian. It was not simply a difference in name but in the social and industrial life of the nation. The results of invention and free commerce were seen in miles of new streets eating up old fields and orchards; in countless work-shops, mills, and factories; in mines and collieries; in ship-yards, docks, busy wharves, Atlantic liners, steamships bound for the Antipodes and the Far East. In 1875 the booking of 600,000,000 railway passengers in the United Kingdom showed how completely the uneventful days of isolated communities had passed away. Despite an immense emigration, the Census registered an increase of 8,000,000 of people between 1851 and 1881.

The effect of these changes was broadened and deepened by the influence of the Press and the Platform, the Franchise of 1867, and the Education Act of 1870. The impulses of a new time throbbed into the life of the Churches. While aggressive criticism and daring speculation assailed the very basis of religion, revivals intensified the fervour of belief, denominational schemes, organisations, places of worship were multiplied, and numberless philanthropic

institutions—homes, asylums, refuges, brigades, schools—were founded in all parts of the country. Between 1871 and 1877 nearly £7,000,000 of money was subscribed for missions alone.

These, briefly suggested here but curiously complicated in actual experience, were the conditions to which the Society had now to adapt its methods of operation at home. More largely than is generally recognised, it had prepared the way for the growing activities of the Churches, and these very activities, while they often tended towards denominational divisions, made it increasingly more difficult for the Society to secure the financial support required for its world-wide mission.

Stirred by the enthusiasm of the Jubilee celebrations, the Committee entered on the work of the second half century with prayerful confidence and with ampler means than had ever before been at their disposal. Expansion was a necessity of the time, and not only in one but in every direction. Before the fourth period closed Christian hymns floated over the inland seas of Central Africa; the "savages" of Tierra del Fuego had learned to read the Gospel in their own language; for the Tukudh Indians on the edge of the Arctic Circle the New Testament was passing through the press; and Japanese converts commemorated in Osaka the fourth centenary of the birth of Luther.

Before describing the work at home which enabled the Society to maintain its work abroad, we shall briefly record one or two matters of general interest.

In 1866 the first stone of the new Bible House was laid. Two years earlier the Committee had received notice from the Metropolitan Board of Works that a spacious thoroughfare from Blackfriars Bridge to the Mansion House would sweep over the site of 10 Earl Street.[1] The claim for com-

[1] *See* diagram, vol. i. p. 484.

pensation had been adjusted, and steps were taken for the purchase of a plot of freehold land on the line of the new route.[1] At a private meeting of friends, held at the Mansion House on the 18th January 1865, with the Lord Mayor (Warren Stormes Hale) in the chair, it was resolved to raise a special Building Fund, so that no portion of the ordinary income should be withdrawn from the ordinary work; a subscription list was headed by John Bockett, the Treasurer, and George Moore, the well-known philanthropist, with £500 each; and an appeal for £30,000 was issued to the public.

By November the site of 146 Queen Victoria Street had been cleared, and the *Reporter* for that month contained a sketch of the new premises, designed by Mr Edward I'Anson.[2] It was not until April 1866, however, that the contractors began building, and by that time an advance in wages and cost of material added considerably to the original estimate of expenses.

On the 11th June the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the Society's new home. Brilliant sunshine beat on the great awning spread over the amphitheatre which had been erected for the accommodation of 2000 people; and a profusion of flags and flowers gave a radiant colour to the scene.[3] By half-past eleven o'clock the enclosure was filled throughout, and crowds of spectators were massed along the roadway. Shortly after noon had struck, the Prince, attended by General Knollys and Lieut.-Colonel Keppel, appeared on the platform, but alas! there was no Princess. In the three years which had elapsed since Tennyson's *Welcome* rang through Britain, Alexandra had indeed become "the land's desire," and the one circumstance

[1] The old premises were taken by the Board, under an award, at £17,500. The new site comprising 7,400 square feet, cost £24,000.

[2] Mr I'Anson, who had been educated at Merchant Taylors' School and the College of Henri Quatre, Paris, was the architect of the Royal Exchange Buildings.

[3] The authorities of the parish heartily co-operated with the Committee, and provided of their own good-will a large portion of the decorations.

which detracted from the gladness and interest of the ceremony was the absence of her Royal Highness. Noticeable among the distinguished company were the Archbishop of York (Dr Thomson), the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Bishop of Winchester (Dr C. R. Sumner), the Bishop of Carlisle (Dr Waldegrave), Lord C. Russell, the Rev. Lord Wriothesley Russell, Dean Stanley, the Danish Minister, General Bülow, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, Sir C. Trevelyan, the Hon. A. Kinnaird, and several members of Parliament.

When the 100th Psalm had been sung and select passages of Scripture had been read by the Rev. Dr T. Binney, the Rev. S. B. Bergne, one of the Secretaries, read an address to his Royal Highness briefly recounting the history, the work, and the projects of the Society. The President then formally requested his Royal Highness to undertake his solemn duty, and the Prince, having placed in a cavity prepared for them a small Bible, a copy of the last Annual Report, an inscription written on parchment, a copy of the *Times*, and several current coins of the realm, duly laid the heavy block of granite which bore the following legend :—

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

Founded A.D. 1804.

This Stone was laid June 11, 1866, by his Royal Highness
ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES.

ED. I'ANSON, *Architect.*
RIDER & SON, *Builders.*

SHAFTESBURY, *President.*
JOHN BOCKETT, *Treasurer.*
C. JACKSON, S. B. BERGNE, } *Secretaries*

"Thy Word is Truth," John xvii. 17.

In the course of a gracious acknowledgment of the address his Royal Highness said :—

"I have an hereditary claim to be here upon this occasion. My grandfather the Duke of Kent, as you have reminded me, warmly advocated the

claims of this Society; and it is gratifying to me to reflect that the two modern versions of the Scriptures most widely circulated—the German and the English—were both, in their origin, connected with my family. The translation of Martin Luther was executed under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, the collateral ancestor of my lamented father; whilst that of Tindale, the foundation of the present authorised English version, was introduced with the sanction of that royal predecessor of my mother the Queen, who first desired that the Bible 'should have free course through all Christendom, but especially in his own realm.'"

The Archbishop of York invoked the divine blessing on the undertaking and the work of the Society; and the Bishop of Winchester, one of its oldest living members, having thanked his Royal Highness, two verses of the National Anthem were sung, and his Grace pronounced the benediction. The Prince and the principal visitors, with the Committee and the Secretaries, were afterwards entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor, Sir Benjamin Samuel Phillips.[1] He had manifested the most cordial interest and imparted a becoming dignity to the day's procedure, and in recognition of his kindly services his lordship was presented with a copy of the Holy Scriptures as a memorial of the auspicious event.

The Building Fund made less rapid progress than was hoped. Contributions of £100 were presented by her Majesty Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, and King William of Prussia; but 1866 was a calamitous year, in which bank failures and commercial disasters were succeeded by virulent cholera, cattle-plague, colliery explosions, and widespread distress amongst artisans during the severe winter. In March 1867 the amount subscribed was £28,668; about £18,000 more was required, and a second appeal was issued. Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances, a lively interest was taken in the fund by the children throughout the country. The Rev. J. A. Page organised a scheme for raising £1000 among the young people of his Yorkshire

[1] Sir Benjamin Phillips was the second Jewish Lord Mayor of London.

district, and a similar project was set on foot among the Sunday schools of the Principality by Dr Phillips, to whom the Welsh school children in the United States, which he had recently visited, transmitted over £100. It was afterwards estimated that of the £61,000 which the site and structure cost, one-twentieth part was defrayed by the gifts and collections of the small people.

Early in 1868 temporary offices were taken at 12 New Bridge Street, Blackfriars; and on the 5th February an affecting farewell service, attended by nearly every member of the Committee, the Secretaries and the staff, representatives of many missionary societies, and other friends, was held in the old home in Earl Street. It was a day of many reminiscences. Looking back to his early manhood, the aged Josiah Forster recalled the founding of the Society itself; he could trace the whole course of its history through sixty-four years. With prayer and praise they lingered over the recollection of work done and comrades departed, besought a continuance of the divine blessing, and then took their last look at the rooms which had been endeared by so many happy associations and hallowed by the presence of so many saintly men.

In the course of the year another link with the past was broken. After a brief but painful illness, the Rev. George Browne died peacefully at Weston-super-Mare, at the age of seventy-nine. Succeeding Joseph Hughes in 1834, he served as Secretary down to 1854, but it was not until the publication of his *History of the Bible Society* in 1859 that his official connection with the Society closed, and he was then enrolled among the Honorary Life Governors.

The new Bible House was finished in the spring of 1869. With the exception of a few hundred pounds the entire cost had already been covered by the special fund; and amid the many dangers inseparable from the work no life had been lost, and there had been scarcely a case of

serious personal injury.[1] In commemoration of the happy event, Archbishop Tait, who had just succeeded Dr Longley in the primacy, preached from Ephesians vi. 17, in St Paul's Cathedral on the 3rd May. On the 4th the Earl of Shaftesbury presided at an inaugural service in the House itself.

With its massive courses of granite in the outer walls, its airy halls within, its spacious staircase, its columns and balustrades and panelling of bright-coloured marble, it was a noble edifice; and there were not wanting those who looked on it with the grudging spirit which prompted the old question in Bethany, "To what purpose is this waste?" It may have been that in choosing 1 Chronicles xxix. 6-21 as the Scripture portion with which the service opened, the Secretaries made the only reply to such criticisms that seemed to them becoming, but Dr Binney dealt freely with the objection. The expense, he pointed out, did not come out of the income of the Society. It had been borne by friends who gave for this purpose, distinct from and in addition to their ordinary contributions. The house was a house for God; and though the plainest upper room might be a church, among a great people there should be some correspondence between their character and circumstances and the buildings which they erected for His service.

The Committee had followed the precedent of the Jubilee and invited their Continental Agents to take part in the celebration. Accordingly a group of zealous and gifted labourers appeared on the platform at the anniversary meeting on the 5th—M. de Pressensé, for thirty-six years chief of the Paris Agency; Mr E. Millard, who had been driven from Vienna in 1852, but was now controlling the Society's work in nearly every city in the Austrian Empire; the Rev. G. Palmer Davies, superintendent of the Frankfort and

[1] A copy of the Bible was presented by the Committee to each of the workmen who had been employed for any length of time on the building.

Cologne districts; the Rev. Dr Simon of Berlin; Mr Thomas Humble Bruce, agent for Italy; and Mr W. H. Kirkpatrick, Mr Van der Bom, and the Rev. J. Plenge, the representatives of Belgium, Holland, and Denmark. The unknown names tell of change, of expansion, of at least one great pioneer whose day's work was done: but of these things we shall speak later.

Two distinguished missionary figures appeared on the platform at the anniversary meeting of 1871, and "Well done!" and "God speed!" was the greeting they had to deliver. Nearly twenty years had gone by since Dr Duff, the devoted Scottish evangelist, last spoke in Exeter Hall on behalf of the Society, but the story of his noble work in India was not unknown to his hearers.[1] Dr Moffat had but just returned finally from Bechuanaland. It was over thirty years since he held his audience spellbound as he told of the immeasurable distances of the veldt, and of the little cloud of dust, which was sheep being driven a hundred miles in exchange for a Gospel. It was still a story of seeking which he had to tell. There was yet another speaker whose presence at that gathering was hailed with interest and delight by all true friends of the cause. On his elevation to the united sees of Gloucester and Bristol in 1863, Dr Ellicott was appointed a Vice-President. For three years his name appeared in the list; in the fourth it was withdrawn at his request. The Society, as he said afterwards, seemed to him to be too inclusive, and he had doubts as to the breadth and nature of the co-operation which united its members. His experience, however, as one of the eminent scholars of various denominations called upon to take part in the revision of the Authorised Version dissipated his difficulties and misgivings, and he felt it his duty to reconsider his whole position with regard to the Society.

[1] Dr Duff, who was appointed a Vice-President in 1871, died at Edinburgh in 1878, at the age of seventy-two.

"After that decision my first visit was to your noble building, the Bible Society's House. I went up into the spacious library; I looked round it; I surveyed its various treasures, and I felt that, after the responsible step I had taken, it was hard indeed that I should be a stranger there. I said as much to those around, and kind and friendly men in their goodness met me with sympathy, arranged that I should be no longer a stranger, that I should be a friend: and I, who formerly felt difficulties in reference to the inclusiveness of the Society and its breadth of co-operation, having myself by the teaching of experience—the best of teaching—seen that God's Word indeed is a blessed bond of unity, am now here, nothing doubting."

He spoke again at the next anniversary, repudiating the spirit of sacerdotalism which would arrogate to "the Church" the prerogative of circulating the Scriptures, and rebuking the "high office-bearer in the Church of England" who had reiterated the uncharitable and ungrounded charge that "the Bible Society encouraged schism—that it existed by schism, and that if there were not schism the Bible Society would at once cease to exist."[1] From that time to the present the Society has had no friend more staunch, no counsellor more highly valued, than the Bishop of Gloucester.

Strange years of excitement and perturbation were these early seventies. Young and generous spirits were carried away by the elation of intellectual conquest. The brilliant discoveries and illimitable speculations of science seemed to be raising the veil from the mysteries of the universe. A sense of freedom from—

> "the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
> Of custom, law, and statute"

thrilled the new generation with something of the rapturous expectancy of the French Revolution, "as it appeared to enthusiasts at its commencement." The *Descent of Man* was published in 1871; the Belfast Address was delivered in 1874. Science had traced the genesis of man to a little leathery sack in the ooze of primordial seas; his destiny science had likened to the melting of "streaks of morning

[1] *Reasons for Declining to join the Bible Society.*

cloud into the infinite azure of the past." What did it matter, if it were truth? To follow truth in scorn of consequence became the gospel of an idealistic materialism. "We live in an age," said Disraeli, "when young men prattle about protoplasm, and when young ladies in gilded saloons unconsciously talk atheism."[1] On the publication of *Essays and Reviews* both Lord Shaftesbury and the Bishop of London (Dr Tait) had appealed to the clergy not to waste words in controversy but "to put forth the simple Word of God." In this spirit the Society proceeded in 1863 to publish the Bible at 6d. and the New Testament at 2d. as the surest safeguard against doubt and unbelief.

[1] Debate on the Irish University Bill, 11th March 1873.

CHAPTER II

MEANS AND EXPANSION

We now turn to the great Auxiliary system which was the mainspring of the Society's operations throughout the world.

In 1854 there were 3313 Auxiliaries, Branches and Associations in England and Wales. At the close of 1883-84 the number had grown to 5134;[1] but the figures give no hint of that inevitable process of disintegration which has been noticed in the story of an earlier period, and which imposed a constant tax on the best qualities of the District-secretaries. Year after year, whether from old age, death, change of residence, weariness in well-doing, or denominational differences, societies disappeared from the roll. Once only was the number of those yearly lapses as small as 24; in 1877 it exceeded 140. In the course of the period no fewer than 2116 organisations were struck off the lists as extinct, and as many as 3937 new institutions were founded or re-established—a yearly average loss of 70, as against a yearly average counter-balance of 131.

Regular meetings were still the only means by which these institutions could be maintained in an efficient state, and, as in earlier years, volunteers readily came forward to aid the District-secretaries in this exacting work. Members of Committee, ministers and laymen of various denominations,[2] agents who had distributed the Word

[1] 477 Auxiliaries, 376 Branches, 2460 Associations in 1854, as against 1056 Auxiliaries, 364 Branches, 3714 Associations in 1884.

[2] The Report for 1870 records the death of the Rev. T. A. Methuen, rector of All Cannings, Devizes, who had given his services for well-nigh sixty years. Over a long

in half the languages of Europe, missionaries who bore testimony to its power among heathen tribes, they formed a splendid succession of prompt and generous helpers; too numerous to mention individually, though memory does not easily let slip such names as Canon Stowell, John Venn of Hereford, John Hampden Fordham, Baptist Noel, the Rev. G. J. Adeney, Bruce the antiquarian of the Roman Wall, the Rev. J. O. Dykes, Robert Moffat, Dr John Stoughton, Prebendary Webb Peploe, John MacGregor whose canoe had floated on the waters in which Peter cast his nets, Canon Ryle (afterwards Bishop), Canon Edmonds, Canon Christopher, Canon Fleming, Canon Girdlestone, Henry Morris, Bishop Alford, and Bishop Mitchinson. One name, that of the Rev. Carr J. Glyn, bright with the poetic associations of Witchampton, occurred in every annual list throughout the period.

Thanks to their co-operation, the number of annual meetings grew from 2061 in 1854 to 3189 in 1883, but in the best of years the number of meetings fell far short of the number of organisations. In their anxiety to cover the whole ground, the District-secretaries got through an amount of work which few outside the Bible House ever realised. Long and frequent absence from home was so inevitable that one was apt to overlook the sacrifice it involved; and although local friends were numerous, wonderfully warm-hearted and hospitable, travelling was still attended by much exposure and many hardships. Anniversaries were held under the shadow of summer trees; they were held also in knee-deep snow and raging blizzards. Christmas Eve did not always find the District-secretary by his own

period he had devoted annually the month of August to the work of the Society, in gratitude for a signal deliverance from sudden death; and summer after summer he and the Rev. Richard Elliot, minister of the Independent Church at Devizes, had accompanied Mr Dudley on his circuit. In the Report of 1883, we read of the Rev. Thomas Sutton, late vicar of Marton, near Gainsborough, who for about forty years gave up his annual holiday to the cause.

fireside, and even in times of domestic anxiety and bereavement he remembered that his work was God's work. At the beginning of the period the whole of England and Wales was worked by seven District-secretaries and three Local Agents; even at its close, when the Local Agencies had been absorbed into the general system of management, there were only thirteen District-secretaries.

The Jubilee Year was marked by a special effort to reach the home population by colportage, for even after the continuous distribution of fifty years it was estimated that one half of the reading population of this country (about 16,000,000) was still destitute of the Word of God. The time was afterwards extended; the grants of the Committee were in many instances munificently supplemented by local subscriptions and donations; and the operations were supervised by the District-secretaries and Local Agents. In four years 328,010 Bibles and Testaments were sold. "There had been a vast amount of labour, and tens of thousands of weary miles had been travelled. The colporteurs had laboured among the crowded inhabitants of cities and towns, and in the most remote rural districts, where the houses were few and far distant from each other." But the cost of distribution was heavy—3d. per copy in Wales, 8½d. in Norfolk, an average of 3¾d. throughout the country. The colporteur was invaluable in breaking fresh ground, in completing the organisation of new societies, in securing free contributors, but the method was regarded as too costly except in special circumstances. The District-secretaries reduced their colportage to very narrow limits in 1861, but three years later the Committee felt the need for a considerable expansion. From 1854 to 1869 the colportage grants from the Jubilee Fund amounted to £9212; from 1870 to 1884 £6724 was voted from the ordinary income—a total of £15,936.

Closely allied to colportage, but boldly original in its

procedure, was a system of visitation introduced in 1857 by the devoted Mrs Ranyard. The eldest daughter of John Bazley White, a cement manufacturer, Ellen Henrietta White was born in the district of Nine Elms on the 9th January 1810. At the age of sixteen she and her friend Elizabeth Saunders caught fever while visiting the poor. Elizabeth died, her brief mission on earth fulfilled. Ellen was reserved for many years of service. In 1839 she married Benjamin Ranyard, and their son, Arthur Cowper Ranyard the astronomer, was born in 1845. She published in the Jubilee year her beautiful volume *The Book and its Story*,[1] a lasting memorial of her attachment to the Bible Society and of her love of those divine Scriptures which she had made familiar in many a poor man's home. It was in the summer of 1856, shortly after taking up her residence in London, that her first sight of the dens and rookeries of St Giles's suggested the project which led to the founding of the Bible and Domestic Female Mission.

The parish of St Giles was one of the horrors of the great city. Seven Dials — the very name a synonym of violence and crime—stood in the heart of it. Into Church Lane, with its dreaded Irish colony, even the police never went except in couples. Charing Cross Road was then a narrow thoroughfare, Crown Street by name, in the midst of a labyrinth of courts and alleys densely crowded by families who seldom occupied more than one room. But to Mrs Ranyard this nightmare region was hallowed ground, baptized with the blood of martyrs. In these "Fields," when St Giles's was still a country village, men and women gathered on dark winter nights to hear the reading of the forbidden book—Wycliffe's translation of the Bible. It was in some sheltering copse that a company of these "Men of the Book"—a Book not yet

[1] Vol. ii. p. 452.

printed—were surprised on the night of 6th January 1414. Twenty were killed on the spot, and thirty-nine of the prisoners, including Sir Roger Acton and Beverley, one of their preachers, were afterwards hanged and burned near the place where they were taken. And to these same St Giles's Fields, on Christmas Day, 1417, Sir John Oldcastle was dragged on a hurdle, and hung alive in chains over a slow fire.

Mrs Ranyard's project was to send some good poor woman to these wretched homes, and by a strange providence her first Biblewoman, Marian B——, had already been prepared for the work, and was awaiting the call. For three-and-thirty years Marian's lot had been cast in the purlieus of Seven Dials. A drunken father, who had broken her mother's heart, had brought her at the age of fifteen to one of the low lodging-houses in the parish, and had shortly afterwards died, leaving to her care a little sister of five. The children earned a scanty livelihood by cutting fire-papers, moulding wax-flowers, and making bags for silversmiths; and many a night they spent together on the stairs or the doorstep to escape the scenes which took place within. She was taught to read and write by a fellow-lodger, a kind-hearted old man but an atheist, who warned her never to open the Bible. "It was full of lies; she had only to look round her in St Giles's, and she might see there was no God." She married at eighteen; her husband was sober and steady, but as poor as herself.

One rainy night in February 1853, as she took shelter in an alley, she was attracted by a religious service in the little mission hall in Dudley Street. She entered, and at the close she obtained from the missionary the loan of a Bible. From the reading of that book she rose up a new creature. Through two years of suffering and sickness and want it sustained and strengthened her; and she had already written to the missionary offering such help as she

could give in caring for the sick among the lost and degraded of her own sex, when Mrs Ranyard visited St Giles's. Gladly she accepted the offer of employment in selling Bibles. In that lawless district, where people respectably dressed did not care to venture even in broad daylight, and where no ordinary colporteur would probably have sold a copy, she knew every nook and corner; the people and their ways were familiar to her, and she had no fear of hindrance or molestation. Before six months were over she had sold 147 Bibles and 207 Testaments among the lowest of the low. In the new rector, Mr Thorold, afterwards Bishop of Rochester and of Winchester, Mrs Ranyard found a sympathetic counsellor and helper. Other visitors were discovered. Six were employed in the first year; 36 in the second; and 137 in the third year; and 160 in the fourth, when the number of Bibles and Testaments sold amounted to nearly 27,000. Up to that time assistance from the Jubilee Fund had been voted to the extent of £2090, on the express stipulation that the grants should be applied to Bible distribution and not to any of the charitable and benevolent objects undertaken by the Female Bible Mission. During the Cotton Famine some of Mrs Ranyard's best women were sent to Lancashire, "not to act as almoners, and not so much to sell the Scriptures in this case, for the starving cannot buy them, but to be loving, humble Bible-readers, and to comfort the people in their trouble." In 1863 there was scarcely a city or town in England which had not its Biblewoman supported by special local contributions; she was busy in France and Germany; and in Bombay, Calcutta, and Syria she had taken up that section of mission work on which Oriental custom permitted none but women to venture.

With the hearty concurrence of Mrs Ranyard, the Committee arranged in 1868 that each Biblewoman employed within the metropolitan district should receive one shilling

a week, on condition that a specific portion of her time should be devoted weekly to Bible-work alone; and, a year later, when the Jubilee Fund had been exhausted, the grants were continued from the ordinary sources.

On the 11th February 1879, as she entered on her seventieth year, Mrs Ranyard died of bronchitis, at 13 Hunter Street. A month had scarcely gone by when her husband, at the age of eighty-six, was laid by her side in Norwood cemetery. During the twenty-two years in which she superintended the beneficent mission she had founded, 184,777 Bibles and Testaments were sold in the most poverty-stricken parts of London; and week by week, oftentimes penny by penny, £23,086 was collected in ungrudging payment for the Word of Life.[1] In the course of those years the Committee's grants in aid of the mission reached a total of £14,344.

A devoted successor was found in her niece, Mrs Selfe Leonard. Up to 1884 the Society's grants amounted to £16,528; and there had been distributed 223,131 copies of Scripture. At that date the mission supported, in addition to 175 Biblewomen in London, 46 abroad. These last were now to receive the benefit of the Society's scheme for the employment of Biblewomen in the East.

The extent to which the regular operations of the Society were once more supplemented by independent agencies may be realised from the fact that during the thirty years no less than £121,913 was voted in miscellaneous grants from the Jubilee Fund and yearly revenue. Correspondents and committees undertook special distributions of the Scriptures to the value of £8553; the home work of various missionary societies was assisted to the extent of £5580; Bibles and Testaments put at the disposal of charitable organisations cost £3278; £5211 was spent in supplying the Word of

[1] "One woman took two years to pay for a Bible which cost 1s. 5d.; most of them are more than a year about it."—*Report*, 1870.

God to prisons, reformatories, workhouses, hospitals, and asylums, and in placing copies in railway stations,[1] hotels, and boarding-houses; and the provision made for soldiers,[2] seamen, and emigrants entailed an outlay of £11,328. The aggregate of all these grants, however, was considerably less than half the amount which the Society may be said to have devoted to education. The copies of Scripture distributed among the poor in day and Sunday schools absorbed £17,603, the loss on sales to schools amounted to £65,376, and £731 went to Bible classes. Theological institutes and their students received copies to the value of £2752; and £1495 was expended for the benefit of the blind. The total educational grant reached the large sum of £87,960.

In an earlier chapter an attempt was made to suggest the unrecorded influence which the Society exercised on all classes of the population. That undercurrent of history, so difficult to estimate, so easily ignored, flowed on through this period with an ever-widening range of spiritual power. Witness the calamitous years of the Lancashire Cotton Famine! In that sudden cessation of employment which followed the blockade of the Confederate ports, "the behaviour of the Lancashire operatives, under the pressure of a terrible and unexpected calamity, was the admiration of the world. The distress of that great manufacturing county, dire as it was, produced no crime, no professional pauperism, no importunate complaints."[3] The facts were

[1] Writing in 1878 of a copy of the New Testament and Psalms which he had placed in the waiting-room at Coventry station, the Rev. W. Major Paull said:—"I found that some one had shown his bitter hatred of the book not only by writing fierce invectives on the fly-leaf, but also by stripping off the leather from the covers. While turning over the pages, doubting for the moment whether we were justified in exposing the Holy Bible to such vile treatment, my eye caught this sentence inscribed on the last leaf, 'God bless the Society for placing this book here!' I instantly felt it was all right. That simple acknowledgment of good received dispelled both the doubt and the sorrow."

[2] Every movement of troops was watched with interest by the Society. Seventeen thousand Testaments, for instance, were distributed among the soldiers when they embarked for Egypt in 1882, and it is interesting to know that one of these saved a life in the trenches at Tel-el-Kebir.

[3] Paul, *A History of Modern England*, vol. ii. p. 326.

inexplicable except to those who remembered the wonderful revival of religion in Lancashire in 1845, the formation of the Manchester Local Agency in 1848, and the remarkable circulation of the Scriptures which had afterwards taken place from year to year.[1] Alongside the generous assistance which was contributed from all quarters, the Society liberally gave the only help its constitution allowed. Several thousands of Bibles, Testaments, and Portions were granted for distribution among the poor in their homes, or for the use of the unemployed gathered together in schools or occasional classes for Bible-reading, and the local collectors readily co-operated in the relief of the distressed. As the winter of 1862 closed in there were half a million people on the relief lists, and the weekly loss of wages exceeded £150,000; but there was no agitation, no thought of violence, not even a murmur of resentment against the Federal Government which maintained the blockade. On the contrary, while the great mass of influential Englishmen had passed over to the side of the planters and slave-owners of the South, the working men of Manchester crowned their endurance with an address of sympathy to President Lincoln, which that great man described as "an instance of sublime Christian heroism that had not been surpassed in any age or in any country."[2] During the two years of bitter distress, and especially in the places where want was most keenly felt, the attendance at meetings in Mr Swallow's district was far beyond the average; and if further proof were needed of the attachment of the operatives of Lancashire to the Bible, it would be found in the fact that while the free

[1] Speaking at the annual meeting in 1862, the Rev. J. Rattenbury, president of the Wesleyan Conference, who had just visited Cheshire and Lancashire, asked: "How is it that the multitudes are not rising there—that we have not Chartist agitation—that designing men are not moving these poor starving multitudes and their families to rebel against their rulers and to complain of authority? My answer is—my deep religious answer of gratitude to God and to you as a Bible Society—that the wide diffusion of the Scriptures, the instruction given to the children of the poor, the knowledge of the Word of God, furnish the great secret, under God, of the patience, the remarkable resignation, the endurance that now mark the manufacturing districts."

[2] Paul, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 351.

contributions of the county in 1861-62 amounted to £5553, they fell no lower than £4614 in 1862-63, and rose again to £5454 in the following year. In 1862-63 the issues of Scripture in Lancashire declined to 99,277; in 1863-64 they sprang up to 147,665 copies.

The influence so wonderfully manifested in Lancashire was no local phenomenon. For thirty years, from five to eight of those Bible meetings which Archbishop Sumner recognised as "a great means of grace" were held daily in some part of England and Wales. The darkest and most dangerous courts of crowded cities were penetrated by the Biblewoman. In country places, the most remote and lonely, the colporteur spoke of the way to salvation. He visited camp and barracks; at the docks, in the sea-ports, on the great rivers he passed from ship to ship with his versions in many tongues. At Saturday-night markets, at fairs and races, at exhibitions, on the railway, on the sands at seaside resorts, he was always to be found with his Bibles, Testaments, and Portions. Almighty God knows, and He alone, for how much all this counted, not only in keeping the people of England steadfast in Bible truth during troubled years of controversy and speculation, doubt and infidelity, but in securing the success of those large missionary, denominational, and benevolent movements which, at one time, seemed to compromise the Society's own means of support.

We shall now glance for a moment at the resources which enabled the Society to fulfil its mission. These, it will be remembered, consisted of "new income" and "receipts from sales." During the first half of the period the sale receipts gave an average of £76,000 a year; in the second half they amounted to £97,200 per annum. During the thirty years the total receipts from sales came to £2,598,900.

The expansive power of the Society lay in the growth of "new income." The "new income" in the first half of the period was on the average £83,000 a year; in the second half £107,800 a year: a total for the thirty years of £2,866,000. As the "new income" fluctuated, the enterprise of the Committee was extended or curtailed.

The "free contributions" from the Auxiliaries had long been regarded as the main support of the work, and it became the dream of the District-secretaries to secure, as a permanent basis of action, a progressively increasing free revenue. That project was never wholly realised. It seemed as though the Society was meant to learn that Providence safeguards a cause most surely when weakness is a condition of its strength, instability a condition of its permanence, and prayer a condition of its usefulness.

The following illustration will show very clearly how from the most capricious of all resources—donations and legacies—the "free contributions" of the Auxiliaries were supplemented to meet the requirements of the time.

Auxiliaries.	Donations.	Legacies.	Totals.
1860-64 £235,200 (Yearly average £47,040)	£53,820	£87,590	£376,610 (Yearly average £75,322)
1865-69 £246,837 (Yearly average £49,367)	47,360	112,060	£406,257 (Yearly average £81,251)
1870-74 £253,595 (Yearly average £50,719)	69,240	119,810	£442,645 (Yearly average £88,529)
1875-79 £273,947 (Yearly average £54,789)	69,780	117,640	£461,367 (Yearly average £92,273)
1880-84 £264,479 (Yearly average £52,895)	65,060	138,470	£468,009 (Yearly average £93,601)

For the right administration of affairs dependent upon so many uncertainties exceptional qualities were needed at the Bible House. Years of plenty chequered with years

of the lean kine made it a hard task to preserve the continuity of work which was steadily widening out. In the severe winter of 1878 the situation became one of grave concern.

Proposals were discussed for reducing the number of colporteurs and depôts abroad, but it was found that such a course would mean nothing less than the extinction of evangelical work in many parts of Europe, and the Committee decided to adopt the alternative of making a slight advance in the price of some of the foreign versions. At the New Year a special appeal was issued; by the end of March £10,180 was subscribed; and the deficit, which otherwise would have been nearly £20,000, was kept down to £9600. Happily, the expenditure of the next twelve months came well within the limits of the income, and it was found possible to revert to the old prices for foreign versions.

Measured merely by figures, the progress of the Society was surprising. The total circulation of the Scriptures at home and abroad, which had been 1,367,000 copies in the Jubilee Year, exceeded 2,000,000 in 1862-63, ran into 3,000,000 for the first time in 1870-71, and amounted to 3,118,000 in 1883-84. During the thirty years over 72,000,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions (Bibles alone nearly 21,000,000) were scattered over the world in many languages.

In May 1880 at the annual gathering in Exeter Hall, Dr Manning, secretary of the Religious Tract Society, bore encouraging testimony to the vastness and efficiency of the Bible Society's operations. He had gone out on a tour of investigation, "resolved to believe nothing he was told, and to look at everything which he was not wanted to see." Throughout the provinces of Italy he found the Society's colporteurs everywhere at work, and at the Appian Gate, by which St Paul entered Rome, he sur-

prised the sentry reading the Epistle to the Romans. At Alexandria, and again at Siout, whither the caravans came in from the great desert, the depôt was in active operation. Even above the Cataracts, a Coptic priest showed him with pride and joy a Bible which had been procured from the depôt at Cairo. Joppa and Jerusalem and Damascus he visited, and he learned that right away among the giant cities of Bashan the Scriptures were being scattered broadcast. Returning by Constantinople, where the depôt in the heart of old Stamboul was "a hive of Christian industry," he passed up the Black Sea and along the Danube, constantly meeting the colporteurs employed under the control of the agent at Vienna. Then he travelled in America, and there, "amidst the lumber-men of the primeval forests and the *voyageurs* of the great rivers and lakes of British North America, always and everywhere the ubiquitous Society was at work." The operations of the Society were not faultless or flawless—he could scarcely say that even for the operations of the Religious Tract Society—but the work, divine and noble as it was in its conception, was wisely administered, and well and vigorously conducted, and wherever he had been the Society had a staff of which any organisation might be proud.

CHAPTER III

EVENTS AT THE BIBLE HOUSE

At this point it will be most convenient to give some account of the men immediately concerned in the management of the Society's affairs. The Earl of Shaftesbury, who as third President succeeded Lord Bexley in 1851, had now in 1880 completed his twenty-ninth year of office. Of the two Secretaries, the Rev. Robert Frost, it will be remembered, was appointed in 1853, and the Rev. S. B. Bergne in 1854. The privilege of long service, which had fallen to all but one of his predecessors, was not granted to Mr Frost. Early in 1857 failing health compelled him to resign, and in the closing hours of that year "he departed in peace."[1] The Rev. John Mee, who had been closely connected with the Church Missionary Society, was appointed Secretary in his place, but four years later he accepted the Deanery of Grahamstown, Cape Colony,[2] and the Rev. Charles Jackson, rector of Bentley, Hampshire, succeeded in 1861.

It was in that year that the Society lost the second of its Treasurers—John Thornton, the friend of Reginald Heber and the sons of Charles Grant. He joined the Committee as early as 1805, a youth of two-and-twenty; became Treasurer in 1815 on the death of his uncle, Henry Thornton; and after forty-six years' service in that capacity died at Clapham on the 29th October, at the age of seventy-eight. It is pleasant to remember that his wife, a

[1] In 1896 his portrait was presented to the Society.—*B. S. Reporter*, 1898, p. 47.

[2] Some time afterwards the Dean returned to England, and was for three years secretary to the Church Missionary Society. He died in 1884.

niece of Lord Bexley, made some figure in the literature of the day as the author of *Lady Alice, a Ballad Romance*, *The Marchioness*, and *Truth and Falsehood*, a three-volume novel.[1] An old and tried friend, John Bockett, whose name is inserted on the tablet in the entrance hall of the Bible House, and on its foundation stone, was chosen to fill the vacancy. In the prime of life he had sacrificed a lucrative business which he found to be incompatible with his profession as a Christian, and thenceforward had devoted himself to projects of benevolence. Feeling strongly drawn to the Society he took his seat on the Committee in 1834, and in 1852 was appointed a Trustee. For eight years he fulfilled the duties of Treasurer, but in the autumn of 1869 the charge became too heavy for his declining powers, and he asked to be released. His name was accordingly transferred to the list of Vice-Presidents; but soon afterwards it became evident that his earthly day was drawing to evensong. Occasionally he was attracted to the spot which had been connected with his happiest moments; but even for these rare visits his strength gradually failed, and on the 13th May 1871 he passed from these earthly scenes.[2] Joseph Hoare was appointed his successor at a special general meeting in December 1869, at which the chair was taken by Josiah Forster, then in his eighty-sixth year.

We must return to the early thirties for an interesting illustration of the spirit which bound men to the Society in generous constancy of service. As a token of cordial recognition Mr George Marten was elected a Life Governor in 1862, on his retirement from the firm which had acted for many years as Honorary Solicitors to the Society.[3]

[1] Their son Edward Parry Thornton holds a place in Indian history. He arrested Nadir Khan in 1852, suppressed the Hazarah tribes during the Mutiny, was appointed Judicial Commissioner for the Panjab in 1860, and survived till 1893.

[2] In his will Mr Bockett left £5000 for the benefit of the cause. In 1899 his portrait in oils was presented to the Society.—*B. S. Reporter* for 1899, p. 226.

[3] Similarly, on his retirement in 1872, another member of the firm, Griffith Thomas, whose services had extended over forty years, was elected an Honorary Governor.

The connection began as far back as 1831, when the firm was known as Brown, Marten & Brown. The style changed to Brown, Marten & Thomas in 1833; to Marten, Thomas and Hollams in 1845; to Thomas & Hollams in 1862; and with two more changes—Hollams, Son & Coward in 1874, and Hollams, Sons, Coward & Hawksley in 1889—the old relationship subsists after four-and-seventy years.

In the Report for 1867 the Committee announced with regret the resignation of the Rev. T. W. Meller, rector of Woodbridge, as Editorial Superintendent. He had assisted the Rev. J. Jowett, whose failing sight was gradually passing into blindness, and had succeeded him in 1849. His linguistic gifts were of a remarkable order. There seemed to be something almost magical in the way in which, after a comparatively brief examination of a version in a strange tongue, he was able to suggest to missionaries from remote lands niceties of diction and idiomatic improvements which had eluded their own research. After having edited the Scriptures in eighteen or twenty different languages, including Modern Greek, Sechuana, Malagasy, Maori, and several of the South Sea tongues, he surrendered his responsible post and accepted the honour of a Life Governorship. At the time of his retirement he was engaged with the Rev. W. G. Lewis, one of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionaries from Cherrapoonjee, in passing through the press a translation of the New Testament in Khasi, and at the special request of the Committee he continued to supervise the proofs. This was his last task, and it was left unfinished. The excessive mental labour of nearly twenty years brought on an alarming nervous attack in April 1870. Through distressing stages of aphasia, followed by an hour or two of rapid utterance in Khasi, he sank paralysed into unconsciousness. After a few weeks, health and strength in some measure returned, but there

was no sign that the alert and vigorous intellect would ever be restored. He resigned the living of Woodbridge, endeared to him by the pleasant associations of many years, and withdrew to a neighbouring village. On the afternoon of the 27th January 1871, while he was taking his usual walk, God called his spirit home.

The vacancy was filled by the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone (hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 1882), who for ten years sustained the Bible House tradition of scholarship and indefatigable energy. Between Mr Meller's accession and Canon Girdlestone's resignation the Society added to its list of Scriptures complete or partial versions in sixty-eight languages. The linguistic progress made in this interval, however, will be most clearly seen in the following summary of the languages in which the translation or distribution of the Word of God was directly or indirectly promoted by it:—

Date.	European.	Asiatic.	Pacific.	African.	American.	Total.
1849	55	63	10	13	7	148
1867	57	74	16	21	10	178
1877	70	88	18	26	14	216

Canon Girdlestone's successor, the Rev. William Wright, was a man of many gifts and of a remarkable personality. Born near Rathfriland, County Down, on the 15th January 1837, educated at Queen's College, Belfast, and drawn to a life of Christian service by the preaching of Mr Spurgeon, Wright completed his ministerial studies at Geneva. Many prospects of usefulness at home offered themselves, but he decided in favour of the Irish Presbyterian Mission to the Jews, and in 1865 he took up the work at Damascus. Bright, mercurial, deeply sympathetic, he attracted many friends. Outside what may be called his own circle, Sir Richard Burton and the unfortunate Lady Mary Digby found in him the staunch and generous loyalty which knows no shadow of turning; and under his hospitable roof, travellers, like Lord

Leighton and Professor Palmer, formed ties which lasted through life. His unbounded physical energy was singularly matched with a literary dexterity that was second only to his fervid oratory. The combination was not more strange than his love of romance and adventure and his devotion to the missionary cause. But, in truth, his delight in the desert, in the ruined cities of Syria, in the reliques of vanished dynasties—his daring rides and scientific wanderings, in the course of which he penetrated to certain recesses of the Druses, and gained the confidence of that mysterious and suspicious race—were all a phase of his intense interest in the Bible, and in everything that might illumine its sacred pages. The ill-health of his wife brought him home after ten years' residence at Damascus. As the period of which we are writing drew to a close he published his most important book, *The Empire of the Hittites*, and the University of Glasgow recognised its merit by conferring on him the honorary degree of D.D.

Mr Henry Knolleke, Assistant Foreign Secretary, resigned in 1872, and died, after protracted suffering, in January 1878. Mr William Hitchin, Assistant Secretary and Accountant, retired in 1878, and died at Margate, in his seventy-seventh year, in February 1884. Knolleke, whom Dr Steinkopff had introduced to the service as a mere lad from the German School in the Savoy, had succeeded Dr Jackson in 1850. His vacant place was taken by Mr Charles Finch. Hitchin had been assistant to Joseph Tarn, the first Accountant,[1] and succeeded him in 1837. His own successor was Mr William Piper Wakelin, who had been Assistant since March 1860. Mr Wakelin was no more than nineteen when he entered the Bible House, and it is interesting to note that he had already spent four years as computing clerk and observer at

[1] Mr Tarn of the Religious Tract Society, it will be remembered, was the first to whom Charles of Bala mentioned the idea of a Bible Society for the benefit of Wales and he was present at Old Swan Stairs when Joseph Hughes uttered his memorable words: "Why not for the whole world?"—Vol. i. pp. 9, 468.

Greenwich Observatory under Airy the Astronomer Royal, and had assisted in some of the elaborate calculations which preceded the laying of the first Atlantic cable.

The changes which time was making in the *personnel* at the Bible House may be said to have culminated in 1880 in the retirement of both Secretaries. The Committee had endeavoured to lighten Mr Bergne's labours by the appointment of the Rev. C. E. B. Reed as his assistant in 1875; but age and illness had exhausted his strength, and a period of complete rest became imperative. Second in succession to Joseph Hughes, he had been Secretary for six-and-twenty years, and his tenure of office had outlasted that of three of his colleagues. Between the beginning and the close of his secretariat almost every department of the work had been doubled in range and magnitude. The Committee hoped still to have the benefit of his experience as Consulting Secretary, but a few weeks after his resignation he was again stricken down by illness; life slowly ebbed away "in great weariness but in unshaken trust," and on the 19th July 1880 he was released in his seventy-fifth year.

He was succeeded by his bright and amiable assistant, Charles Edward Baines Reed. The eldest son of Sir C. Reed, M.P., chairman of the London School Board and a Vice-President of the Society, grandson of Dr Andrew Reed,[1] the well-known philanthropist, Mr Reed had been familiar from boyhood with large schemes of Christian enterprise; and his gifts, his gentleness, and his youth—he was in his thirty-fifth year—promised a long, gracious, and distinguished secretariat.

Mr Jackson withdrew to his rectory at Bentley,[2] a few miles from the New Forest, and for some months Canon

[1] To the initiative of Andrew Reed must be ascribed the foundation of the London Orphan Asylum (1813), of the Infant Orphan Asylum (1827), of the Reedham Orphan Asylum (1841), and of the Hospital for Incurables (1855). He died in 1862 at the age of seventy-five.

[2] Mr Jackson died at Bentley after a long and painful illness in April 1885.

Edmonds filled the second vacancy. On the suggestion of the latter the choice of the Committee fell, in July, on the Rev. John Sharp, his old friend and fellow-missionary in India, who had recently been appointed by the University of Cambridge its first lecturer in Telugu and Tamil. Mr Sharp was born at Bradford on the 13th March 1837, educated at Rugby under the headmasterships of Tait and Goulburn, and elected to an open Taberdarship at Queen's College, Oxford, where he graduated in honours in 1860.[1] He was ordained in St Paul's Cathedral by Dr Tait, then Bishop of London, in May 1861, and in November he landed in Madras as assistant master in the Church Missionary Society High School (the Noble College) at Masulapatam. During a terrible cyclone on the night of the 1st November 1864 the raging sea swept over Masulapatam and leagues of the surrounding country; thirty thousand people lost their lives in the darkness; and the survivors were left destitute of food and fresh water. Mr Noble, the founder of the College, died from the effects of the catastrophe, and Mr Sharp became principal in 1865. Thirteen years later he returned home to recruit from overwork in a trying climate and from the results of a fall from his horse.

In addition to his qualifications, many happy associations commended Mr Sharp to the Committee. He was a descendant of John Sharp, Archbishop of York, the grandfather of Granville Sharp,[2] who presided at the meeting at which the Society was formed, and a relative of the eminent Leeds surgeon William Hey, who raised a fund for the printing of hitherto unpublished Oriental versions of the New Testament; while on his mother's side he was a great-grandson of the commentator Thomas Scott, the friend of Charles of Bala and first secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

[1] Among his tutors and teachers at Rugby were three who were afterwards known as Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, Dean Bradley of Westminster, and Archbishop Benson.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 11, 33.

In the same year (1880) Mr Alfred Eckenstein, who had been one of the staff since 1842, was appointed Agency Correspondent; but as the pressure of work became more acute further assistance was needed, and Mr J. J. Brown, of the Middle Temple, joined the Bible House as an Assistant Secretary in 1882.

The year 1883 was made memorable by the Society's first withdrawal from Protestant countries in a condition to maintain their own Bible-work, and by three great tours among the foreign agencies whose charge extended from Finland to Barbary, and from Spain and Portugal to the Urals and Asia Minor.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISTRICT-SECRETARIES AT WORK

We turn up the lights on the changing scenes and busy lives of the District-secretaries in England and Wales. At the opening of the period the whole country was divided among them as follows:—

Secretaries.	Districts.
1. Charles Stokes Dudley .	Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, the Channel Islands.
2. The Rev. T. Phillips .	Wales, Hereford, Monmouth, the Cambrian Societies[1] in English towns.
3. T. J. Bourne . . .	Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Rutland, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Worcester, Lancashire (except the Manchester Local Agency), and the Isle of Man.
4. The Rev. Philip Kent .	Essex, Herts, Beds, Bucks, Oxford, Berks, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Surrey, Sussex and Kent, excepting places within a radius of twelve miles from the General Post Office.
5. G. T. Edwards . .	Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cheshire and Shropshire.
6. The Rev. J. A. Page .	Yorkshire.
7. The Rev. A. T. Edwards	Middlesex and places within twelve miles of the General Post Office.
Local Agents.	
8. S. Freeman . . .	Norfolk.
9. George Wingfield . .	Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln.
10. C. Swallow . . .	District of the Manchester Auxiliary.

[1] There were eight of these—London, Liverpool, Manchester, Chester, Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Oswestry, and Bristol.

The year 1859 brought round the jubilee of the early Auxiliaries, and with it a happy retrospect which quickened the people to livelier interest and more strenuous exertion. The Newcastle Auxiliary—one of the five established in 1809—held its jubilee on the 18th October. The New Town Hall was filled with an audience of two thousand persons, and the parent Society was represented by Mr G. T. Edwards and the Dean of Carlisle—Dr Francis Close, whom as a lad we saw gathering weekly pennies for the Hull Auxiliary in 1812.[1] Dr J. Collingwood Bruce, the local secretary, read an interesting account of the formation of the Auxiliary and of its work on Tyneside. The initiative appears to have been taken by Charles Newby Wawn, surgeon-dentist, a notable philanthropist in his day, whose name appears on the list of the first local committee; and the Auxiliary was founded under the patronage of Bishop Shute Barrington, the last but one of the Princes Palatine of Durham, with Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart., M.P.,[2] Charles John Brandling, M.P., Dr Prosser, Archdeacon of Durham, and Dr Thorpe, Archdeacon of Northumberland, as vice-presidents. With one exception, all the founders and early friends had passed away. Mr George Richardson, who alone survived to see the jubilee, was in his eighty-first year, and could look back over a long life of varied usefulness. Born of humble Quaker parents, at Low Lights, in 1773, he began preaching at the age of twenty, and for forty years carried the Gospel into every English shire, and into Scotland, Ireland, and the Channel Islands. In the Old Flesh Market, with its timbered fronts and picturesque gables, he had his home and business premises, and there he had conducted at his own expense the business of the Auxiliary depôt from 1814. During that time more than 240,000 copies of the Scriptures had passed through his hands. He had

[1] Vol. i. p. 67.

[2] The second Baronet, Bishop Ridley, who suffered at Oxford with Latimer in the reign of Queen Mary, was of the same old Border family.

kept the accounts of the Auxiliary, carried on its correspondence, arranged the annual meetings throughout the district, and periodically visited the Associations. Even when far advanced in life, he would put out in a boat from Cullercoats, his favourite holiday resort, with a supply of Bibles for any French ship that showed in the offing.

George Richardson died in 1862. The Bible-work for which he had done more than any other man on Tyneside he bequeathed to his son Henry, who indeed had relieved him long before of the official charge of the depôt. The site of the old-world premises was required for modern improvements, and in 1863 a new Bible House was opened in Pilgrim Street. Mediæval associations gave the position a singular appropriateness, for this was the ancient way to the well of healing waters at Jesus' Mount (Jesmond), whither "pilgrims came, with great confluence and devotion, from all parts of this land." In recognition of his services, Henry's name was added in 1878 to the Society's roll of Honorary Life Governors, and at the close of the period (1884) the aggregate sales of the Auxiliary had run up to 536,262 copies. From 1809 to 1820 inclusive the remittances to London, largely on purchase account, had amounted to £4748; between 1821 and 1884 the free contributions alone reached a total of £24,122.

The Olney Branch Society was revived in 1859. For twenty years no Bible meeting had been held in the town hallowed by the memories of John Newton, the poet Cowper, and Thomas Scott the commentator. But for a small annual donation, the Branch, which had been founded as far back as 1813, would have completely died out. "Circumstances beyond my control," wrote Mr Bourne, "barred all access." On the 13th December, however, a new era of work was started at "a crowded and most delightful meeting."

But if denominational intolerance sometimes thwarted

the District-secretaries, they had often much to encourage them in places where little was to be expected. Mr Bourne could also tell of the men at one of the collieries in the Midlands to whom the Society had sent a grant of Scriptures, and who were visited twice a week by a zealous clergyman in their workings underground. They were eager to possess each a volume of his own, but for many of them 9d. was more than could be afforded. The difficulty was solved by the masters, who readily undertook to pay one-third of the cost. "I find from their wives and others," wrote the good pastor, "that the Bibles are really read, and oftentimes in the middle of the night. On one occasion (in the pit) they all knelt down, while one man offered up an earnest and beautiful prayer: 'Bless, O Lord, Thy servant, whom Thou has sent amongst us; protect him when he comes into the bowels of the earth; keep its tottering pillars from falling on his head. Oh, preserve him, that he may be a useful minister to us, and own his labours by bringing souls to Thyself by his means!'"

In the same year (1859) Mr Edwards was present at the anniversary of the Association which had been started in 1838 at the Chester Lead Works. Here, too, the Bible had drawn master and man into kindly relationship. The labours of the day began at six o'clock, but half an hour earlier, summer and winter alike, the men assembled to read a chapter of the Bible, and to pray for God's blessing on their employers, their mates, and themselves. By the year 1874 they had raised in weekly contributions £864 for the benefit of the Society. Bishop Graham of Chester frequently presided at their meetings—eager and engrossed meetings held in a great room gaily hung with banners, evergreens, and Scripture texts, and crowded with the operatives and their families; and on one occasion, to their pride and delight, Lord Shaftesbury himself took the chair. When Mr Edwards attended another anniversary,

twenty years later, the total of their free contributions exceeded £1000.

In 1859 the Manchester Local Agency was absorbed, and Mr Swallow was appointed District-secretary for Staffordshire and the whole of Lancashire south of the Ribble. North Lancashire and the Isle of Man passed to Mr Edwards; Oxfordshire was assigned to Mr Dudley; and Mr Philip Kent took over the district outside the metropolitan four-mile radius.

In the last days of October 1860, the Manchester and Liverpool Auxiliaries combined to celebrate their fiftieth year. Lord Shaftesbury was unable to preside, but the Philharmonic Hall in Liverpool and the Free Trade Hall in Manchester were crowded; and in the latter city two clergymen and two Nonconformist ministers addressed a gathering of some five or six thousand teachers and elder scholars of Sunday schools. Mr Adam Hodgson, who presided at the public breakfast in St George's Hall, Liverpool, was the sole survivor of those who had formed the Auxiliary on the 4th January 1810, though the secretary of the Auxiliary, Dr Raffles, had been present at its first public meeting on the 21st April. At the Manchester breakfast the chair was taken by Mr Samuel Fletcher, who shared with Mr John Burton and Mr George Hadfield, M.P., the distinction of having been a continuous subscriber for half a century. These two Auxiliaries, it was recorded, had sent the parent Society more than £60,000 in free contributions and about £4000 in special donations, and had expended large sums in supplying local requirements. Their joint circulation of the Scriptures amounted to 1,368,390 copies. Plans were adopted for making the jubilee a starting point for action on a large scale, and a jubilee edition of the Bible was issued, with the inscription, *My Word is Truth*, the arms of Manchester and Liverpool, and the coronet of the Duchy.

In the same year Sunderland, Kendal, and Bristol held their jubilees. During its half century the Bristol Auxiliary had transmitted £75,000 to the Society, about one-half in free contributions, and the rest in payment for the Scriptures, of which it had distributed 330,916 copies.

At the close of 1860 Mr T. J. Bourne retired from the cares of his extensive district. He had served the Society as secretary of the Antigua Auxiliary, had joined the home district staff in 1839, and during his tenure of office had undertaken the important tour in Cape Colony, described in the preceding volume. A worthy successor was found in the Rev. J. D. Miller, curate of Blore, Derbyshire.

Worn out with the infirmities of over three score and ten, Mr George Wingfield, Local Agent for "the Three Counties," resigned in March 1861. He had begun work in Derbyshire in 1838, and ten years later the Local Agency for the united counties of Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln was started. He perceived that the resources of his district lay very largely among the agricultural population. Travelling yearly between five and six thousand miles, he visited the hamlets and scattered homesteads of the south Derby pastures; Associations were formed in the villages within the circuit of old Sherwood; and even in the fen and marsh districts of Lincolnshire, where many thought colportage would be useless, hundreds of Bibles were subscribed for. In 1848 the remittances from the Three Counties amounted to £2406 free and £2118 on purchase account; in 1859 the figures were—free, £4443; purchase, £2612. Mr Wingfield did not long enjoy the annuity provided for him by his friends with the help of the Committee; in the Report for 1863 a last reference was made to his long and faithful service. His place was filled by the Rev. W. Spencer, but in 1864 the Local Agency of the Three Counties was also merged, and Mr Spencer was ranked among the District-secretaries, with a larger field of action.

The jubilee of the East Suffolk Auxiliary was held in April 1861. The Society's first Secretaries, Owen, Hughes, and Steinkopff, had been present with the "few warm-hearted and generous-minded men of Ipswich" when they founded the institution in the old Shire Hall. They were all dead; and, like them, four of its presidents — Bishops of the diocese — and nearly all its original committee and officials had passed away. It had transmitted £55,862 in free contributions and on purchase account, and had distributed 188,236 copies of Scripture.

The death of Charles Stokes Dudley, in 1862, severed one of the last links with a past to which these successive jubilees were giving a feeling of strange remoteness. When the District-secretaries met for their annual conference in 1858, Mr Dudley's chair was for the first time vacant. He had entered his seventy-ninth year; but in spite of illness and weakness, he clung to the supervision of his district, and the Committee gave him the Rev. J. P. Hewlett as an assistant. His last report was written in January 1862. For some weeks before the end he lay wandering in his mind, but the broken words which occasionally dropped from his lips told of his nearness to Christ and his constant thought of his Auxiliaries. After nearly seven days of silence he uttered his last audible words: "How sweet to be at rest! Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee," and on the evening of the 4th November, in his eighty-third year, he fell asleep, at Broadlands, Taunton. He had been enrolled among the Honorary Life Governors as early as 1817, and until the appointment of Mr Brackenbury in 1828 he was the only District-secretary. His elaborate book, an *Analysis of the System of the Bible Society*, has even to-day its value and interest. During seven years of gratuitous co-operation and forty-two of regular service, he travelled little less than 300,000 miles, addressed between 7000 and 8000

public meetings, conducted an extensive correspondence, and took the leading part in founding 1500 Auxiliaries, Branches, and Associations. "No single individual," the Committee declared, "had ever done so much to extend and strengthen and maintain the cause of the Society, at least within the limits of the British community."

His assistant, Mr Hewlett, who had had considerable experience as a deputation,[1] succeeded to the charge of the Western District. In this year (1862) he visited Witchampton, and noted "the cheerful peal ushering in the Bible-day, the flag flying on the church tower, the vehicles pouring in from all quarters, the Golden Tree, the contributions from Sunday scholars, the thank-offerings for mercies received, the warm hospitality of the rectory:" all which we may think of as recurring summer after summer for some decades to come. In the northern counties Mr Edwards and his assistant Ephraim Lister were busy arranging schemes of colportage for Barrow, Ulverstone, Stockton, and Middlesboro'.

Think of the change which had taken place in English industry! In 1845 Barrow had consisted of five farms, ten cottages, and two public-houses, with a population of sixty-eight persons. In 1829 the site of Middlesboro' was occupied by a solitary farmhouse, part of which had been an old Benedictine monastery. The urban population of England and Wales, which in 1851 exceeded the rural population by 384,000, exceeded it in 1881 by 4,320,000. That great massing of the working classes created a problem for the District-secretaries which was extremely difficult to deal with.

On the 2nd December 1864, after a long illness, the

[1] "During the last twenty-one years," he wrote in 1863, "I have travelled as a deputation about 73,000 miles, a distance equal to thrice the circumference of the globe;" and until March that year no accident had befallen him. On a dark night in that month as he and Mr James Cadbury, his host, were returning from one of the Banbury meetings the carriage was upset, but happily with little damage.

Rev. J. D. Miller, who had succeeded Mr Bourne, died at the early age of thirty-six. The vacancy was filled by Mr George Hall of Quarndon, Derby, but early in 1867 he accepted an engagement with the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. H. A. Browne of Toft Newton took charge of the district till January 1868, when the Rev. G. T. Birch succeeded.

In this last year of the old Bible House in Earl Street a tragic shadow fell on the work of the District-secretaries. The Rev. Philip Kent was stricken down by paralysis in the midst of his busy occupations. He had attended a meeting at Titchfield, Hampshire, and was the guest of the Rev. T. Cousins, when at the close of evening prayers it was found that he was unable to rise from his knees. Medical aid was at once summoned, but for weeks his life hung by a thread. He rallied sufficiently to be removed to his home at Peckham, and there he lingered, speechless, with mind impaired, and the use of his right side entirely lost.[1]

Mr George Hall promptly volunteered, but he had scarcely taken up Mr Kent's duties when he was discovered speechless in his library, and in a few hours he breathed his last. Arrangements were then made with the Rev. R. G. Milne of Tintwistle. He resumed the interrupted series of meetings, and returned home for a few days to prepare for his stay in the south. He too was seized with illness, and a stroke of paralysis incapacitated him from any kind of public service. At last the Rev. G. Robbins of Slough was appointed to the district early in 1869.

Before this fateful year ended, the Rev. Dr Phillips, the District-secretary for Wales, broke down under the strain of duties which had not been relaxed for three-and-

[1] For twenty years Mr Kent waited patiently in retirement and suffering for the summons to his rest. He died on the 4th April 1888, at the age of eighty-six. He had been District-secretary for a quarter of a century.

thirty years. Some premonition of numbered days had been borne in upon him in 1866. "When I look into the Report for 1865 for the names which appeared in that of 1836 I can find only one; and if I look beyond the Committee, there is not a single name left on the home staff of officers, and only one among the foreign agents of the Society." In his own district—now so developed that "it would furnish eighty weeks of profitable labour in the course of the year"—there were but thirty persons still in office of the number of excellent men who had given him his first welcome in the Principality. With a few weeks' rest and the relief afforded by the appointment of the Rev. W. Dickens Lewis as his assistant, he was able in 1869 to address 138 meetings and preach 46 sermons, besides attending to literary and editorial work. Full of his old buoyant cheerfulness, he was present at the conference of District-secretaries in February 1870 and the anniversary gathering in May, and had planned with his assistant — bilingual like himself — to break fresh ground where the opening of slate-quarries and coal and iron works had formed centres of population. These were but the last flashes of the lamp. After attending 85 meetings and preaching many sermons in spite of much suffering and physical weakness, he took to his bed in August, and on the 12th October he completed his record of work with the words: "The End: 'His work is honourable and glorious.'" The end came on the 28th, at his home in Hereford. He was laid to rest in the churchyard at Tupsley, and "devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him."

Thomas Phillips was one of Dudley's picked men, and a worker after his heart. For five-and-thirty years he carried with him the sunshine of his kindly disposition and the magical tones of the Welsh language, and few men were more widely known and none better loved in that wild country than "the Peacemaker." When he began his

circuits there were 102 affiliated institutions in the whole of Wales; in 1870 there were 438 Auxiliaries and Branches; and the annual free contributions had increased from £2023 to £6680, while the outlay on purchase account, which had risen from £2224 to £2671, showed that the desire for the Word of God had suffered no abatement. The Cambrian Societies alone contributed over £700 a year. In 1866 he represented the Committee at the jubilee of the American Bible Society, and was invested with the honorary distinction of D.D. by the University of New York; and during his visit he spent some time among the Welsh settlements where he met many friends of his youth, and warmly urged the claims of the great institution of the States. One arduous and delicate task he accomplished for his countrymen and for the Society. After a laborious collation of all the editions of the Welsh Bible, he succeeded with the aid of the best Welsh scholars in producing a standard text in the language of the Principality.

Mr Hewlett had now been for ten years in charge of the Western District. He had travelled about 90,000 miles and addressed very nearly 2000 meetings, and under his care the number of Auxiliaries had increased to 593, and the free contributions had advanced from £5373 in 1859 to £5947 in 1868. In 1869 he was transferred to the Metropolis, and his place was taken by the Rev. Walter John Edmonds, curate of Redruth. Edmonds was born at Penzance on the 6th October 1834. In 1860 he was sent out to Southern India by the Church Missionary Society, and took up his post as the first missionary to the Koi tribes on the Godavery; but his health and that of his wife failed, and they returned home in 1863—she to die, and he to become as time went on Canon of Exeter, and one of the staunchest, most accomplished and versatile of the Society's supporters.

CHAPTER V

LONDON AND WALES

LONDON, with its enormous growth of population, its annual expansion into miles of new streets, its drift westward to gayer and more luxurious conditions of social life, had long presented a bewildering problem. The Rev. Allen T. Edwards struggled with it from the Jubilee Year to the close of 1857. On his resignation[1] the Metropolis was divided into East and West, under the charge of Major Scott Phillips and the Rev. R. F. Wheeler; new depôts were opened, and colportage and canvassing were successfully used to quicken the inert Auxiliaries and Associations. Major Scott Phillips retired, however, in the course of 1859, and a temporary arrangement, which soon became a regular engagement, was made with the Rev. W. Pascoe Tiddy, who had served the Society for nearly twenty years on the Continent.

Mr Tiddy initiated a bold and radical policy. The large Auxiliaries which had flourished when the population was little over a million, seemed to him no longer adapted to the conditions of the two and three quarter millions which had completely altered the character of the old areas; and he urged immediate subdivision and reconstruction on a more manageable scale. The Westminster Auxiliary, which from 1812 had largely contributed to the free income and circulated 109,000 copies of Scripture, was remodelled into six compact and active societies. A new Auxiliary, with Sir

[1] For many years afterwards a friend and helper; died August 1904.

John Lawrence as president and Sir Henry Havelock as vice-president, was established at Bayswater; new institutions were organised in East London; and the colporteur and Biblewoman infused new life into the work. Unhappily Mr Wheeler's acceptance of a Northumbrian living occasioned another break in that continuity which counts for so much in steady progress. During his two years of office he had formed 27 Auxiliaries and Associations, and had raised the circulation from 32,993 to 57,755 copies, and the receipts from £2669 to £4047; but the condition of the capital of the world was deplorable. "The great and rich population of the western portion of the Metropolis," he wrote, "contributes less than ¼d. per head per annum to the Society's free fund; the eastern and poorer part about ¼d. and a half; the Metropolis altogether little more than a farthing." And the little Isle of Anglesea was sending yearly 4½d. a head, or nearly eighteen times as much as each Londoner gave.

The subdivision of the time-honoured organisations was effected amid many difficulties and delays. In 1862 the Southwark Auxiliary, the oldest of all the Metropolitan societies, was converted into six, and the East London into five smaller Auxiliaries;[1] but it was not until the end of 1867 that the Blackheath Auxiliary adopted the only method by which it seemed possible to restore an effectual activity. The Rev. W. H. Graham succeeded Mr Wheeler as District-secretary for West London. In 1866 he was appointed vicar of St Paul's, Penge, and the vacancy was filled by the Rev. J. H. Hill. In the same year the Rev. Dr Gill entered on a new project for awakening the interest of the thousands of children and young people in the schools and colleges in and around the Metropolis. He adapted the

[1] The aggregate issues of the Southwark Auxiliary up to this date were 140,000 Bibles and 90,000 Testaments; its receipts, £71,027. The figures for the East London Auxiliary were 58,143 Bibles, 51,363 Testaments, and £10,800, of which £6450 was transmitted to the Bible House in free contributions.

magic-lantern to his addresses, collected several hundreds of pounds for the building of the new Bible House, and formed a number of juvenile associations.[1]

Alongside the teeming city with its leagues of streets lay the great river, with its throng of shipping and its tens of thousands of seamen of every nationality. In 1855-56 the Merchant Seamen's Bible Society, which had distributed 195,019 copies of the Scriptures in many tongues, was dissolved; the name of Edward Suter, who for thirty-seven years had been its honorary secretary, was placed on the list of Life Governors; and the charge was committed to the Metropolitan District-secretary. Two colporteurs were appointed for the systematic visitation of merchant vessels and the lodgings of seafarers along the water-side; and during the next twelve years over 100,000 ships were boarded, and between 50,000 and 60,000 volumes were sold.[2] In 1868 arrangements were made for the transference of the work to the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and the Thames Church Mission, to each of which an annual subsidy was voted for the maintenance of a colporteur; and grants were subsequently made with the same object to the Mission to Seamen and the Association for Supplying the Scriptures to Foreign Sailors. Between 1869 and 1884 the expenditure incurred for this purpose amounted to £3831.

With their responsibility so far lightened, the Committee reconstituted East and West London as a single district within

[1] Dr Gill continued his special work until 1870. In April that year he was seized with alarming illness during a lecture to the convalescent patients at Brompton Hospital. He never thoroughly recovered, and after much suffering he died on the 4th November 1870, within a week of the departure of Dr Phillips.

[2] Among the reminiscences of this river work, one may be mentioned. Colporteur Otté visited the steamship *London* before she left Tilbury Docks on her ill-fated voyage to Melbourne on 30th December 1865. On the 11th January she foundered in the Bay of Biscay with some two hundred and thirty passengers and crew. A little while before the end, "the Rev. Mr Draper," wrote one of the nineteen survivors, "was sitting about the middle of the cuddy, at one of the tables, with many round him, reading and praying unceasingly. Now and then there would be heard a voice saying, 'Oh, Mr Draper, pray with me.' There were also to be seen men by themselves reading the Bible."—*Cornhill Magazine*, Account of a Survivor.

the twelve miles postal radius; and in 1869, as we have seen, Mr Hewlett succeeded Mr Tiddy and Mr Hill.

The difficulties which for a long time had beset the work of the District-secretaries—difficulties arising from infidelity and indifference, from denominational estrangement and political antagonism on ecclesiastical and educational questions, from the death of old friends and the dearth of successors, and finally from the rapid increase of other societies, religious and benevolent — appear to have been most acutely felt during the next four years. In consequence of the stress and strain of the work in 1867 various departures from the old methods had been suggested, such as lectures when regular meetings could not be held, drawing-room Bible meetings for the higher classes, sermons and offertories in places where Associations could not be formed for want of active workers, and, most important of all, the formation of congregational Associations around an Auxiliary as a common catholic centre. But any change—especially a change which might be misinterpreted as a new reading of the constitution of the Society—was regarded by the Committee with doubt and misgiving. In 1871 the same proposals were strongly urged by Mr Hewlett, who insisted on the danger of adhering "rigidly and exclusively to the admirable plans and modes of action devised in very different circumstances more than half a century ago." Three years later the position was discussed by a sub-committee in conference with the District-secretaries, but the only definite result was an expression of deep regret that the distribution of God's Word should be impeded by the growing unwillingness of members of different communions to meet on the same platform, and a prayer that grace might be given to the children of the same Father to co-operate in carrying out His will. That prayer was largely answered, and in many districts the need for congregational expedients was obviated by a return to the old spirit of liberality and Christian union.

In 1875, after fifteen years' service, Mr Hewlett was presented to the living of Purton, Wilts, by Lord Shaftesbury. He left the Metropolis with 300 Auxiliaries and Associations, a free revenue of £5122 for the year, and the debt of £3686 due from the depôts in 1869 reduced to an ordinary business credit. The position was occupied from 1875 to 1878 by the Rev. D. Parker Morgan, and from 1879 to 1882 by the Rev. James I. Cohen. During these years trade arrangements were made with the booksellers both in London and the provinces for the sale of the Scriptures ("open depôts"); and the increasing number of pulpits placed at the disposal of the Society helped to compensate, both by spreading information and securing support, for shortcomings in the matter of regular annual meetings. The Rev. David Brodie succeeded Mr Cohen on his appointment to the secretaryship of the Church Pastoral Aid Society; and in 1884 the Metropolis contained 394 Auxiliaries and Associations, there was a free revenue of £6208, and the issues of Scripture amounted to 42,210 copies, of which 26,443 were Bibles. But what a stupendous undertaking lay before him in that appalling Babylon, which housed a population greater than that of Scotland, beneath whose roofs a child was born every three minutes, and death released an immortal soul in every five!

In 1871 another of the District-secretaries, the Rev. W. Spencer, was called away with startling suddenness. He had attended the service at Westminster Abbey on the evening of the 30th April; at an early hour on the 3rd May he breathed his last. The Rev. C. de Boinville, who had laboured as a minister of the Gospel for twenty years in France, was appointed in his place; but his strength proved unequal to the work, and he resigned in 1873. By a strange coincidence one of his last duties was an address at the annual meeting at Ashwell, in Hertfordshire, the village in which he was born in 1819, and which he now really saw for the first time.

An important rearrangement of district areas was made in 1872. The counties of Bucks, Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Warwick, Oxford, and Worcester were grouped into a new charge and assigned to the Rev. W. Major Paull, who became, long afterwards, one of the Secretaries of the Society. Mr Edwards exchanged Cheshire and Shropshire for the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, and Mr Page retained the West Riding and annexed North Derby and Cheshire. The whole of Yorkshire had been under the care of Mr Page since 1852. In that year there were 177 Auxiliaries and Associations. The number increased to 355 in 1861 and 388 in 1867; and in the interval every town and nearly every moorland village in the three Ridings had been visited by collectors and colporteurs; children had been gathered into juvenile associations; and an average of about 70,000 copies of Scripture had been issued annually. At the end of 1871 the free income was £5250, and in the twenty years of his agency the aggregate free receipts amounted to £75,241 as against £44,979 in the preceding twenty years.

The Rev. W. J. Edmonds withdrew on account of failing health in 1873, and the South Western Counties passed to the Rev. Richard Perkins, who lived to be senior District-secretary in the closing years of the century. In 1874, after twenty years of service, Mr Charles Swallow retired on a small annuity. He had had the satisfaction of seeing the Bible Society housed in 1871, with the Religious Tract Society and the Manchester City Mission, in a handsome building erected in Corporation Street, Manchester, at the expense of Mr John Fernley, of Clairville, Southport.[1] In his last year of office the free contributions of his district

[1] The freehold site was purchased by public subscription for £3700; the edifice cost £4500, and was opened on the 16th June. Mr Fernley, who had been associated with the Manchester Auxiliary for nearly forty years, died in 1872-73, leaving the Society a legacy of £2000.

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Bible House, The Entrance.

amounted to £5198, and the purchase account to £6225, while the issues numbered 117,469 copies.

For three years Mr Dickens Lewis had laboured on the vast scale of his predecessor, Dr Phillips. In 1874, however, the Principality was divided, and the Rev. H. Griffiths was appointed to South Wales, Hereford, and Monmouth. The following year South Yorkshire and North Lincoln were formed into a new district, which was entrusted to the Rev. E. P. Powell, but after a few months' work he accepted a curacy in Halifax, and in August 1876 he was succeeded by the Rev. F. D. Thomson of Swansea, who attained the position of senior District-secretary on the eve of the centenary. In the winter of 1876 the Rev. G. T. Birch resigned from ill-health, after nine years' service; and the Rev. Isaac Raine undertook the supervision of Derby, Notts, and South Lincoln in his stead.

Among the many interesting details of the Report for 1878, Mr Robbins refers to one of those beautiful anniversaries which had "almost grown into a county 'institution.'" As far back as 1845 Mr Joseph Stratton, then a young man of one-and-twenty, had been won over to the Society by Mr Methuen of All Cannings. Two years later he started the Pewsey Vale Branch of the Devizes Auxiliary, and in 1855 he threw open his large rose-gardens at Manningford Bruce for the first of a series of delightful yearly gatherings which came to be known as the Rose Meetings. On Coronation Day if possible—or some day sooner or later at the will of the roses—the winding roads among the Wiltshire Downs were busy with holiday traffic. From miles around, the Society's friends, rich and poor, arrived on foot or in vehicles of all sorts—gigs, traps, dog-carts, carriages, with here and there a kindly farmer's waggon, "the Ship of the Downs," manned with a crew of rosy-cheeked maidens and school children. Sometimes a hundred vehicles were

counted near the thatched and quaintly-gabled country house of the host, and the 300 inhabitants of the Vale were outnumbered, two or three times to one, by their visitors. At first the meetings had been held in the village schoolroom. That was in the days of Mr Dudley, and perchance some old shepherd, who has long been too frail to follow the tracks to the dew-ponds, may still remember that prince of District-secretaries. Then a great barn, garnished with nosegays and green branches, was used for the increasing numbers; next, a large tent—afterwards two large tents—were pitched on the lawn. On the days of these Rose Meetings, according to tradition, the weather of Pewsey Vale was the weather of Avilion: no rain fell, "nor ever wind blew loudly"; but there were pleasant rambles among the roses, marvellous in their beauty and bewildering in their names; bounteous tables were spread for tea; there was perhaps a bazaar, or "Bible boxes" were opened; the children sang hymns, in which their elders took part; addresses were delivered; a "deputation," it may be, exhibited some treasured Bible borrowed from the Library of the Bible House, and told the story of suffering or sorrow or regeneration by which it was consecrated; a missionary spoke of his labours in the East or in an isle of the South Seas, and of the progress of the Society's work. Then came the cordial leave-taking; and all along the valley the summer twilight was enlivened with the sound of voices and the roll of wheels, until the last of what seemed a swarm of fire-flies disappeared, and the beat of the horses' hoofs died away in the windings of the Downs. Years afterwards, under strange skies and among dusky faces, the heart of more than one missionary was stirred and strengthened by the recollection of those Rose Meetings in the Vale of Pewsey. At this meeting in which Mr Robbins took part, considerably over £100 was raised for the purposes of the Society. In 1883 Mr Stratton was enrolled among the

Honorary Life Governors, and we shall meet him again as our History draws to a close.

A number of important changes took place in 1878. Derby, Notts, Leicester, Rutland, and Northampton were formed into a new district and placed under the supervision of the Rev. James Thomas, sometime of the London Missionary Society, who had just returned from China after a residence of nearly ten years. In the course of the year Mr Robbins surrendered the South Eastern District, and Mr Algernon C. P. Coote, who had taken up the work of the Rev. C. de Boinville in 1874, was transferred to the charge, while his own post in the Eastern Counties was filled by the Rev. Robert Black of Liverpool. But Mr Coote found the strain of constant travelling and public speaking beyond his strength, and he resigned early in 1880. Notwithstanding three months' absence through illness, he had raised the number of Auxiliaries and Associations to 441, and the free contributions to £6329, "the highest figure they had ever reached since the formation of the district."[1] The vacancy was filled by the transfer of the Rev. W. Major Paull from the West Midland District, which, after a brief tenure by the Rev. George Davidson, was assigned in the summer of 1881 to the Rev. R. G. Hunt, son of the Church Missionary Society pioneer Robert Hunt, who shared the sufferings of Captain Allen Gardiner in Tierra del Fuego, and afterwards accompanied Bishop Anderson to Rupert's Land.

In the beginning of 1880 the Society sustained a grievous loss in the death of the Rev. James Augustus Page. In Yorkshire, and afterwards in Lancashire and Cheshire, he had achieved results which it would be difficult to overestimate. He adopted the congregational system with such tact and catholic liberality that in many places the various denominations spontaneously abandoned their exclusiveness

[1] Mr Coote succeeded his father in the premier baronetcy of Ireland in 1899.

and combined on the common platform of the Society. To his brightness and humour and tenderness the Juvenile movement owed in a great measure its remarkable development during the period. In 1858 there were said to be 100 children's associations scattered over the country, but his success in Yorkshire, where in ten years his little "bands of hope" contributed upwards of £1000, awakened the emulation of other districts, his colleagues obtained his co-operation, and references to Twigs and Blossoms and large gatherings of little folk on Bible Day became more and more frequent in the Reports. In 1875 his children's income for the year was £800. Two years later he had 78 associations, and the receipts from Southport with its numerous schools reached £200. Among the young Bible people of 1877 one society must be mentioned. Mr Robbins founded it in a private school in Hampshire, and its secretary was a son of the Prime Minister of Madagascar! In 1878 we read of Mr Coote's 44 children's associations in the Eastern Counties; of the Sunderland children raising £51 for the year; of the Newcastle children sending £89 (which brought their eight years' total up to £530); of a Twig at Ponteland, a Northumbrian village, and of juvenile workers at Darlington, Bishop Auckland, Chester-le-Street, Kendal, and other places. In the last year of the period the children of Yorkshire raised over £1000. Mr Page was succeeded by the Rev. Jelinger E. Symons.

In 1881 the last of the Local Agencies, that of the Norfolk Auxiliary, was absorbed into the general District system. Unlike the other Local Agencies, it had been self-supporting from its foundation. Its free income, which after payment of expenses was transmitted to the Bible House, increased from £1020 in 1858 to £1793 in 1874; and for a number of years its purchase account considerably exceeded £500. "Beloved in every Norfolk village" and a worthy colleague of the great District-secretaries, Samuel Wiseman

resigned in the course of 1875, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his agency.[1] He was succeeded by Mr J. R. Cossons of Lynn; on whose retirement, early in 1881, Norfolk, with its 227 Branches and Associations and its net free income of £1402, was formed with Suffolk into a new district, and placed under the supervision of the Rev. George Davidson.

An interesting retrospect was addressed to the Committee in 1881 by the senior District-secretary, Mr George T. Edwards, who touched on the changes which had taken place since his accession to the Society in 1850. "I have seen," he wrote, "eight Secretaries depart, while of the five District-secretaries who, in addition to myself, composed the staff thirty years ago, only one remains, and he has long since retired from service.[2] In 1850 almost half of Europe was closed against the Society; to-day every country is open, and Rome is the centre of operations for Italy. I have been permitted to attend 4658 meetings; to commence those which are now annually held among the English on the Continent; and to attend the first meeting ever held in the city of Rome. I have travelled nearly 200,000 miles, in all kinds of weather, and have never had any accident."

The Continental meetings to which he referred began almost casually in 1866, when after severe bereavement, Mr Edwards, accompanied by the Rev. Carr J. Glyn, went for change to the Continent; but they quickly developed into regular annual tours. In 1867 Mr Edwards visited eighteen French towns, including Nice, Cannes, Mentone, Pau, Biarritz, Nimes, and Montpellier; and in time other District-secretaries participated in this work, which was found in many ways advantageous to the cause and beneficial to the

[1] In his last full year of service, though his strength was visibly failing, Wiseman attended 160 meetings. His name was inscribed on the list of Honorary Life Governors, and the Committee and his Norfolk friends provided an annuity for his declining years. He died in 1884.

[2] The Rev. H. A. Browne of Toft Newton.

deputations; and Switzerland and Italy were added to the itinerary. Familiar and interesting names are of frequent occurrence in the brief notes of these tours, and it is pleasant to observe how at Bordighera, year after year, the villa of Dr George Macdonald, the poet and novelist, was placed at the service of the Society.[1]

In his long wanderings Mr Edwards came on many things that were delightful to remember. He knew Grace Darling and her father; and the last time he went to visit them, the old man—to whom the Committee had sent a Testament in large type the year before—had just died on the verge of fourscore. He held Bible meetings in the lighthouses on the Fern Islands, and founded an Association among the ruins of the Saxon priory on Lindisfarne. He visited the Auxiliary in Wensleydale, where the ancient custom was still observed of blowing the horn, "from Holy Rood till Shrovetide," to guide belated travellers through the forest—an apt figure of the Auxiliary's own work. At the old peel of Whitehall in Cumberland, the original, it is said, of Fairladies in *Redgauntlet*, he was the guest of George Moore, who had bought and restored the ruined tower which he scaled for birds' nests when a boy. At Penrith he used to meet Robert Gates, secretary of the Penrith Auxiliary, who for nearly half a century went out on horseback "collecting for us," and who died in 1867, over fourscore years but active to the last. And at Ulpha, in the Duddon Valley, he was made welcome by Susan Wilson, probably the oldest Bible collector in England in her later time. Even on the verge of ninety she was still to be seen, staff in hand, making her rounds, but in 1879—just before the jubilee of the Ulpha Association—the quaint old farmhouse where she had so often entertained deputation and District-secretary knew her no more.

[1] As the result of one of these tours £214 was collected in 1877, considerably more than double the amount obtained in any preceding year. Over £217 was realised in 1884.

In the Report for 1882 we catch another glimpse of the ingenious and pretty devices so often employed for the benefit of the Society. At Christmas time a sale of work was held by the Juvenile Association of Leamington, Warwickshire. The centre of attraction was a beautiful model ship, the *Evangeline*, which had been made and presented to the Association by a young man in the town. All the accessories of an Arctic vessel were reproduced in miniature; it was illuminated with coloured lights; and its hold was filled with merchandise, which in the course of the evening realised a net profit of £9. Nearly a quarter of a century has gone by, but to many the ship *Evangeline* will still recall Bishop Ridley's experiences in his newly-formed diocese of Caledonia in British Columbia.[1] A few days after his arrival he started with nine Indians on a voyage of a hundred miles in a hollow-tree canoe, and they were as nearly lost in a gale as saved men could be. "Unless I get a steamer," he wrote home to the Church Missionary Society, "a new bishop will soon be wanted;" and in the autumn of 1881 the *Evangeline* was making her first trip from Vancouver to the Skeena River.

With a brief note on the progress in Wales, we conclude our survey of the work of the District-secretaries. As far back as 1864 Dr Phillips thought that there was little room left for the formation of new Associations in the Principality, and that the hope of any increase of funds lay chiefly in the greater efficiency of existing organisations. At his death, as we have seen, he left 438 Auxiliaries and Associations, with a free income of £6680, a purchase account of £2671, and subscriptions from the Cambrian Societies amounting to more than £700. During the next thirteen years remarkable progress was made in both districts, and notwithstanding severe agricultural depression, closing of mines, collapse

[1] The Bishop was one of the speakers at the anniversary meeting in 1903, and his bright and telling address will long be remembered by those who heard it.

of coast traffic, and the local burdens of new churches, chapels, and schools, the period closed with the following figures:—771 Auxiliaries and Associations, a free income of £8863, a purchase account of £3910, and £757 in subscriptions from the Cambrian Societies.[1]

One of Lord Shaftesbury's happiest recollections was his reception by the Welsh people. It was on the anniversary of the Carnarvon Auxiliary, 16th October 1879. Special trains were run in all directions, and hundreds of people came in from miles around; the shops were closed early in the afternoon; the aged President, welcomed by the Mayor and the local committee, was escorted through streets lined with thousands of Sunday-school children to the vast pavilion erected for the Eisteddfodau, where in the evening he addressed a meeting of 7000 Welsh Bible-folk.

The Cymric love of the Word of God never failed. Go out in the dark and the rain with the brave colliers who act as collectors. There is a lonely cottage on the bleak hillside. Old Sioned will welcome you, kindle a rushlight, and bring out her small savings of a few pence: "You must take them now. I don't think it any hardship to eat dry bread for a day or two, to do my little in such a glorious cause." Is it strange that among such people Anglesea gave 4½d., and Merioneth nearly 5d. a head, while some of the wealthiest cities of England were content to give a fraction of a 1d.?

In all, forty-one men filled the position of District-secretary during the thirty years. We cannot leave them without at least a passing reference to some of the colporteurs who contributed to the success of their labours. There was William Webb, who traversed the Midlands for nearly thirty years; Watson Rolley, who explored the three Ridings for five-and-twenty; Eccles, who travelled with a free pass over

[1] 1883 was an unfavourable year for comparison; the Cambrian Societies contributed £885 in 1877, £871 in 1881, and £928 in 1882.

the lines of the North Western, Great Northern, and Eastern Counties, and in ten years realised £2173 by the sale of 84,242 copies; and—to name but these — Roger Haydock of Blackburn, who joined the Society in 1857 and lived to see the Centenary; William Mills of Lutterworth, who in the first thirteen years of his service made 1,062,233 calls (an average of 261 every day in the year except Sunday), and sold 44,947 Bibles and Testaments.

CHAPTER VI

MEN AND THINGS NOTABLE

OUTSIDE the wide range described in the preceding pages there were a thousand points at which the Society touched the life of the nation, and numberless incidents testified to the deep interest with which its work was regarded.

Eight times during these thirty years the Committee presented the Bible as a bridal gift to the sons and daughters of Queen Victoria[1]—an old custom revived on the Continent by several of the foreign Bible Societies during her Majesty's girlhood. The first recipient was the Princess Royal, in January 1858, on her marriage to the Crown Prince of Germany; and five-and-twenty years later the Committee were permitted to offer the congratulations and good wishes of the Society on the celebration of the silver wedding of their Imperial Highnesses at Berlin. Twice the respectful and loyal sympathy of the Society was conveyed to her Majesty—in 1861 on the lamented loss of H.R.H. the Prince Consort, and in 1884 on the death of Prince Leopold.

In September 1859 the return of the M'Clintock Expedition—the twenty-first that had penetrated the icy recesses of the North in search of that old Bibleman, Sir John Franklin—solved the mystery which had so long overhung the fate of the old friend of the Bible Society. Among the relics which were brought back was the sea-stained fragment of a Bible, in which "a tremulous line had been drawn beneath

[1] To the Princess Royal in 1858; Princess Alice in October 1862; the Prince of Wales in March 1863; Princess Helena (Princess Christian) in June 1866; Princess Louise in March 1871; the Duke of Edinburgh in 1874; the Duke of Connaught in 1879; and Prince Leopold in 1882.

the words of Eli—'It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good.'"

At the May meeting of 1862 the President announced a contribution of £50 from Lord Palmerston, who had given the hearty assurance—"I am most happy to do anything I can for your admirable institution." With Mr Percival, Lord Liverpool, and Lord Goderich (afterwards Earl of Ripon), Viscount Palmerston was the fourth British Prime Minister who had publicly supported the Society.

In the Great Exhibition in 1851 the Society was assigned a place solely on the ground of its services to science. With much reluctance the Commissioners of the International Exhibition of 1862 conceded its claim to admittance, and it was not until considerable pressure had been brought to bear that a creditable position was granted for the priceless ancient MSS. and the numerous versions of that divine Book which alone can realise the poet's dream of the breaking of mailed fleets and armed towers.[1]

In 1863 the Society had for the first time three Archbishops simultaneously on its roll of Vice-Presidents — Longley of Canterbury, Thomson of York, and Whately of Dublin; but the auspicious conjunction was of brief duration, for in October that year the Archbishop of Dublin died.

On the 6th November 1866—a sharp, windy day of bright sunshine—a monument to Tindale's memory[2] was solemnly inaugurated, in the presence of thousands of spectators, on the high summit of Nibley Knoll in Gloucestershire.[3] "We

[1] Tennyson, *Ode sung at the Opening of the International Exhibition.*

[2] In the only specimen of his handwriting known to exist, Tindale spelt his name with an *i*. See the signature subscribed to his letter to the Governor of Vilvorde in the winter of 1535, when he was a prisoner in the castle. A photograph of the letter, by Francis Fry of Bristol, is preserved in the Society's Library, and there is a facsimile in Demaus' *Life of Tindale* (Religious Tract Society, 1886).

[3] The foundation-stone had been laid in 1863 by Lord Fitzhardinge of Berkeley Castle. The repairs needed after thirty years' weathering in the salt winds from the Bristol Channel were defrayed from a restoration fund raised among the friends of the Society in 1896, and the care of the monument was committed to a new body of trustees.

were near the scene of the martyr's birth," wrote Mr Hewlett, the District-secretary, who took part in the presentation of Bibles to every man and boy who had been employed on the work. "A few miles distant, in one direction, was the Manor House, where, residing as tutor, he first conceived the grand idea which has made his name immortal; in another were, almost visible, the towers of Berkeley, within which, before Wycliffe had commenced his noble labours, John Trevisa, a native of Cornwall, made a translation of the Scriptures at the request of his patron, the fourth Earl. Looking in the direction of Bristol, we could not but think of the ancient church of Aust, held for some years by Wycliffe himself. Gloucester, not many miles distant in the opposite direction, recalled the name of Myles Smith, bishop of that see, and one of the venerable translators of our Authorised Version. Nibley Knoll was indeed the right place for the erection of such a monument."

Gleanings for the Young, a small quarterly magazine recording many attractive incidents in the Society's work, was started in January 1869, and ran for nine years. A new series, enlarged and more effectively illustrated, began in January 1878. It appeared every alternate month in that year, but in the following it became a regular monthly. The *Monthly Extracts*, which dated from August 1817, and the *Bible Society Reporter*, started in 1841, were superseded in June 1858 by the *Monthly Reporter*. Like its predecessors it consisted as a rule of eight pages a number, but in January 1882 it was enlarged to sixteen, in a new series which contained various articles of interest in addition to the usual excerpts from home and foreign correspondence.

In 1872 an unspeakable sorrow befell Lord Shaftesbury in the death of his dearly-loved wife, his companion and counsellor for forty-two years. She entered into rest on the 15th October, and in the following December his daughter Lady Constance Ashley was also taken from him. Against

this double bereavement he bore up with Christian fortitude, but he was never again the same man.

On the 20th July 1874 the large and striking picture, "Luther's First Study of the Bible," by Edward Matthew Ward, R.A.,[1] the well-known historical painter, was formally presented to the Society in the name of a large body of subscribers. It represents the Reformer as a young monk, in the library of the monastery at Erfurt. He has laid aside a crimson volume of the Lives of the Saints, broken the spider-web spun across the neglected shelf on which the Bible stood, and is absorbed in his discovery of the Word of Life.

Two months later—21st September—the members of the Oriental Congress visited the Bible House, and were introduced to the treasures of the Library. In the preceding year the Society had received a diploma and medal from the Congress, during its session in Paris, in consideration of its services in the way of Oriental printing. "An impression was evidently made upon these learned men," wrote an eye-witness, "that while the Congress was studying knotty points of literary and ethnological interest, the British and Foreign Bible Society was practically solving them."

The portrait of the Earl of Shaftesbury, commissioned for presentation to the Bible House by members of the Committee and other friends, was painted by Millais, and exhibited at the Academy of 1878—"one of the most conspicuous examples of Millais' occasionally deep insight into character, and one of his most successful portraits."[2]

On the 12th September in the same year, Cleopatra's Needle was erected on the Victoria Embankment, and in a cavity in the pedestal, on the invitation of Mr Dixon, the engineer, the Society deposited various copies of the

[1] Mr Ward, who painted for the corridor of the House of Commons a series of eight frescoes, which included "The Execution of Montrose" and "The Last Sleep of Argyll," died in 1879.

[2] Spielmann, *Millais and his Work*.

Scriptures in the jars containing memorials of Great Britain in the nineteenth century.

In 1881 a deputation from the Committee presented Lord Shaftesbury with a copy of the Bible on his eightieth birthday.

In the same year died George Borrow, once the Society's agent in Russia and Spain.[1]

The Report for 1881 drew attention to the completion of the Revised Version of the New Testament. The first provision of the constitution restricted the Society to the circulation of the Authorised Version, but, it was stated, the desirability of so far modifying the rule as to include the new version was being carefully discussed by the Committee. The question proved to be one of greater difficulty than had been anticipated, and twenty years elapsed before a decision was reached.

One of the projects of the Jubilee Year, it may be remembered, was the establishment of a Benevolent Fund, from which provision should be made for old servants, and temporary relief given to their widows and orphans. A sum of £10,000 from the Jubilee Fund, and contributions amounting to £2500, were invested for the purpose, and during the period frequent appeals were made to secure an adequate income to meet these responsibilities. In 1881 the Committee published a scheme under which a large proportion of the Society's employees, at home and abroad, might bank as much as 12 per cent. of their salaries on an interest of 4 per cent.

From the beginning the Committee had taken advantage of every opportunity to place the Scriptures within the means of all classes. In 1883 and 1884 considerable reductions were again made in the price of various editions for the benefit of children, the poor, the aged, and the sick. These

[1] In 1904 Mrs M'Oubrey, Southtown, Suffolk, left the Society £100, "in remembrance of the great interest my dear father, George Henry Borrow, took in the success of the great work."

measures excited certain critics to a revival of the charges of "sweating" which had been completely disproved in the past;[1] and after a strict investigation these new slanders were declared to be equally unfounded.

Another incident may here be briefly noticed. As far back as 1839 an official answer had been given to the charge that versions derived from the Vulgate were unworthy to be called the Word of God, and that in supplying Roman Catholics with these—the only versions recognised by the mass of the people in Roman Catholic countries—the Society was not faithful to its trust.[2] The subject was opened afresh in 1856, and the Report for 1857 contained a resolution to the effect that "the Committee saw no adequate reason for departing from the practice which has hitherto been followed," together with an array of testimonies from the Continental Agents, the committee of the French and Foreign Bible Society, and influential members of Protestant communities abroad, confirming the wisdom of this decision. In 1869 and the following year there was an effort to revive the controversy; the subject was forced upon all the principal Auxiliaries, and organised attempts were made at some of their annual meetings to divide opinion on the Version question. This served but to strengthen the position of the Committee, who received from many quarters an express approval of their adhesion to the principles of 1839, and from the Auxiliaries in general an intimation that they were content to leave the matter to their discretion.

Gladly we turn to the hosts of friends whose names illumine the annals of the Society. So large was their number that in these pages we can do but scant justice to their generous and unfailing loyalty. At the close of these volumes place will be found for the names of those most intimately connected with its deliberations and its undertakings.

[1] See vol. ii. p. 158*n*.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 154-156.

In 1858, at the age of eighty-eight, passed away William Akers Hankey, one of the "three hundred persons of various religious denominations" who assembled in the Pillar Room of the London Tavern on the 7th March 1804. A few months later, on a Sabbath morning, 29th May 1859, in his eighty-sixth year, died Dr Steinkopff, the last survivor of that little band. He was laid to rest in Norwood Cemetery, and the Rev. Daniel Wilson, the beloved vicar of Islington, who had been present at the funeral of Mr Hughes, officiated at his grave. In the same year the Society lost the Rev. John Angell James, who for fifty-three years had been one of the secretaries of the Birmingham Association, and of whom it was written, "Good men of all denominations loved him, for he loved the universal Church far better than any section of it."[1]

In 1861 died a Life Governor, the Rev. John W. Cunningham of Harrow, the friend of Wilberforce and Simeon, of Legh Richmond and Joseph John Gurney; on the 6th September 1862 a Vice-President, Archbishop Sumner, who had become a member of the Society when it was "not above two or three years old," and who declared in the April preceding his decease that his sentiments were "the same as he had held for more than fifty years."

In 1820, in the time of the first President, and while Owen and Hughes were still Secretaries, Thomas Farmer of Gunnersbury joined the Committee. He served continuously for thirty-seven years, preserving the tradition of the early days and the memory of the founders. On his retirement in 1859 he became a Vice-President, and on the 11th May 1862 he was released from the growing infirmities of age. Hidden away in the *Lists of Contributors* there occur entries which suggest the piety of a Christian home now long forgotten. In the early thirties you will find the names of Mr and Mrs Farmer, Miss S. S., Miss Jane, Miss Ellen,

[1] Stoughton, *History of Religion in England*, vol. vii. p. 246.

Miss Elizabeth, Miss M. B. Up to 1869 this good family at Gunnersbury had contributed £4469.

Among other friends who departed in this decade were Canon Hugh Stowell, whose first speech on behalf of the Society was delivered in the Isle of Man before he was twenty, and whose anniversary addresses long afterwards aroused his audiences to enthusiasm; John Radley of Denmark Hill, a member of Committee for thirty-eight years, and author of the Jubilee volume, *The Providence of God traced in the Origin and Progress of the Bible Society;* and Dr Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, the sole survivor of the fellowship of six who formed the Oxford and Oxfordshire Auxiliary in 1814, and an Honorary Life Governor for five-and-forty years.

On the 1st October 1869, at Rose Castle, the Bishop of Carlisle breathed his last. By his bedside stood his old friend and tutor, Archbishop Tait, who had arrived just in time to say the commendatory prayer. While rector of Barford and canon of Salisbury, Dr Waldegrave had been a warm friend of the cause; in 1863, 1867, and the following year he spoke at the anniversary in Exeter Hall; but he never appeared more happy in his service than when, "lantern in hand, he led the way to the village gathering and pleaded for the wider circulation of the Word of Life."

In 1870 Josiah Forster of Tottenham was the oldest member of the Committee, to which he had been elected in 1826. Except in 1840, when he accompanied Elizabeth Fry on her crusade among the prisons of Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and in 1846 and 1854, when other important missions took him abroad, he had served continuously; and in 1869 he was appointed a Vice-President. In his eighty-eighth year his mental activity and his interest in the work were unabated, and a week before his death, in June 1870, he was in communication with the Bible House.

On Northernhay, the pleasant promenade under the old

red wall of Rougemont Castle, the visitor to Exeter might have seen in 1862, as he may see to-day, the statue of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, an old Bible worthy who had been a Vice-President since 1821. Sir Thomas was still alive ("Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores," ran the legend on the statue), and it was not until 1871 that the beloved baronet died, suddenly, in his eighty-fourth year.

The statue of another Vice-President, unveiled at Darlington in 1875 at the celebration of the Railway Jubilee, three years after his death, preserves the face and figure of Joseph Pease, the first Quaker M.P. On the eve of the Crimean war he was one of the deputation from the Peace Society, founded by his father, who urged pacific measures on the Czar. A man of strong intelligence and broad Christian philanthropy; ever ready to promote the welfare of his fellow-men. Old and blind, he still appeared on the platform to urge on the great work of circulating the Bible.

Two memorable deaths marked the beginning of 1873: on the 13th January, in his seventy-seventh year, Henry Venn;[1] on the 19th January, in his seventy-fourth, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel. "The death of Mr Venn," it was written at the time, "will be talked of in many an African hut, in many an Indian bazaar; but all that is best and truest of English Christianity will mourn by the grave of Baptist Noel." No one was better able than the eminent

[1] The record of the Venns as a clerical family dates back to the last years of Elizabeth. William Venn was vicar of Otterton from 1600 to 1621, and his son and his grandson Dennis held livings in Devon. The grandson of Dennis was Henry Venn (1725-97), the famous Evangelical vicar of Huddersfield, and the lifelong friend of John Thornton. Henry's daughter Eling was the mother of Charlotte Elliott, author of *Hymns for a Week*, *Hours of Sorrow*, and of the familiar lyric "Just as I am"; his son John (1759-1813) was rector of Clapham, the intimate of the Evangelical circle sketched in our first volume, and one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society. John Venn had two sons—Henry (1796-1873), whose death we have noticed above, and who for thirty years was secretary of the Church Missionary Society; John, vicar of St Peter's, Hereford, and president of the Hereford Auxiliary; and five daughters, one of whom, Jane, married Sir James Stephen, and became the mother of Sir James Fitzjames and his brother Leslie Stephen.—*See* Venn, *Annals of a Clerical Family*.

secretary of the Church Missionary Society to appreciate the work of the Bible Society, and as occasion offered he urged its claims with the eloquence of a large experience.

August 15th, 1874, Charles Richard Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, passed away in his eighty-third year. He had been an active and eloquent Vice-President as early as 1826, when he was raised to the see of Llandaff, and during the brief years of infirmity which followed his resignation his interest in the Society was unflagging. Bible Day was held in honour at Farnham Castle; and clergy and laity assembled in the great hall, and afterwards visited the summit of the keep, which had been laid out as a flower-garden by this "last of the Prince-Bishops."

On the 26th November 1876, while on his way to a benevolent meeting, George Moore was knocked down by a runaway horse in the streets of Carlisle. He was carried insensible into the Grey Goat Inn—under its roof, some fifty years before, he had slept as a friendless lad setting out to seek his fortune—and there, while anxious crowds waited silently before the house, he breathed his last. A man of such inspiring personality and trusted ability that he was charged with the relief of Paris at the close of the terrible siege. His first contact with the Society appears to have taken place in 1845, when he became an annual subscriber of a guinea. In 1862, 1867, and 1873 he served on the Committee, and in 1874 he was appointed a Vice-President. He circulated the Scriptures in thousands; in the poorer parts of London, among the hills and valleys of Cumberland. In his own district, for over twenty years he took the chair at the annual meetings, and secured the attendance of bishops, deans, and clergymen and ministers of other denominations. "I heartily wish," he wrote in his diary, "that they all belonged to one denomination—the universal Church of Christ." His donations and subscriptions amounted to £1634, and in accordance with his will a

legacy of £3000 was paid to the Society in 1877, and a second sum of £3842 in 1884.

In 1881 the names of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Dr W. Morley Punshon and Sir Charles Reed, M.P., disappeared from the list of living Vice-Presidents.

Six vacancies occurred in the list in 1882. Early in the year died William Coles of Dorking. His connection with the Society began in 1847; in 1856 he joined the Committee, on which he served for twenty-five years consecutively; and in 1881 he became a Vice-President. Reference has already been made to the lively interest he took in the early history of the Society,[1] and in the preparation of the touching little book, *The Story of Mary Jones and Her Bible*, which was published in the December following his death. During his life his subscriptions and donations came to £5438, and by a curious coincidence the sums received under his will amounted to £5437, making a total of £10,875.

The second Earl of Harrowby had reached the ripe age of eighty-four when his call came on the 19th of November. As Lord Sandon he had been appointed a Vice-President in 1842; for five years his name stood on the list beside that of his father, the first Earl; for thirty-four years more it stood alone, and on his death its place was taken by that of his son, the third Earl.

Archbishop Tait departed on Advent Sunday, 3rd December; and a few days later the concourse of mourners of many denominations around his grave in Addington churchyard testified to the breadth of his Christianity. His career as a great Churchman coincided with this period of the history of the Society, and his sympathy with its purpose was unconsciously reflected in his estimate of his own work: "How far I have failed and fallen short God knows, but I

[1] *See* vol. i. p. 467. Here it may be mentioned that in 1875 the memory of the Rev. Thomas Charles was honoured by the erection in Bala of a white marble statue which showed him robed in his preaching gown, and offering a Bible in his outstretched hand.

did try to teach the plain Gospel, and to make others do it too." Before a fortnight had elapsed Dean Close too had passed away — the steadfast friend of seventy years, who began his work as a lad of fifteen by collecting weekly pennies for the Hull Auxiliary in 1812.

On the 5th July 1883 died the seventh Duke of Marlborough, who as Marquis of Blandford had accepted the position of Vice-President in 1849.

One omits with regret the familiar names of old families like the Buxtons, the Barclays, the Foxes of Falmouth, the Peases of Darlington, the Bardsleys, the Peckovers of Wisbech, the Upchers of Sherringham, with whom love of the Bible Society became a tradition; the names of old friends, old presidents and secretaries of Auxiliaries of thirty, forty, fifty years' standing, like the Rev. John Bartlett of Marnwood Hall near Madeley, the Rev. V. F. Vyvyan of Withiel, William Joyson of Sale, Mr Lewis of the Fishguard committee, and Jasper Atkinson and his daughter of Maidenhead, who entertained the deputations to the Auxiliary for sixty-eight years in succession. Neither may we linger over the long *Lists of Contributors* which contain so many curious and pathetic clues of personal history.

So, too, with the schedules of Legacies, each a testimony to the living power of the Bible. In more than twenty instances the bequests of the period ranged from £4000 to £15,000;[1] but it was the thousands of smaller benefactions which made the Legacies so important a part of the Society's income. With regard to most of these gifts we know nothing but the names of the donors; now and then, however, we catch a glimpse of the spiritual life behind the name. In the Report for 1870 a single line records a donation of £3300 from "Thomas Jones, Esq., Caer-groes,

[1] Here it may be mentioned that in 1872 stock valued at £20,000 was placed in trust by Thomas William Hill of Bristol, chairman of the Taff Vale Railway. The interest, which was to be appropriated after his death, became available three years later.

near Ruthin"; in that of 1871 we find that the sum has grown to £3560; in 1873 there is an acknowledgment of part payment of a legacy which amounted to £2077. We should know no more of this generous supporter were it not for a passage in Mr Lewis the District-secretary's account of North Wales for 1872. No name is given, but the dates and figures establish identity.

"A few weeks ago a Welshman died, aged eighty-four. Under his will the Bible Society will receive the handsome sum of £2000, probably more; and a like sum is to be bequeathed to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, the religious body to which he belonged. With the exception of a few trifling legacies to distant relatives and friends, these two bequests comprised the whole of his property. It is estimated that his previous contributions to the funds of the Society during his lifetime must have exceeded £4000. He lived almost penuriously in very humble lodgings, for which he paid about six shillings a week; and the only article of value belonging to him was his watch and chain. Here appears to be a man who indeed cast into the divine treasury 'all that he had, even all his living.' He seems to have denied himself everything but the mere necessaries of life, in order to devote all that he had to promote the efficiency of the two great institutions to whose influence he attributed the spiritual prosperity of his fellow-countrymen."

It is from such details as these that we best understand how deeply the love of the Bible Society had rooted itself in the hearts of the people—from such as these, and from those brief notes which speak of the helpfulness of the poorest, the thanksgivings of grateful hearts, the cottager's honey, the fisherman's turbot, the "Bible Corner" of the labourer's field, the "Bible flowers," the milk of the "Bible cows," the savings of the servant girl, the collections of the ferryman and the blind soldier, the bags of farthings hoarded by hard-working women, the gifts of children. In 1860 we read of a little English girl who lived at Peterchurch, in the Golden Valley, Herefordshire. She was blind, and when the gleaners went into the harvest fields they took her with them. Working busily, this little Ruth gathered many small sheaves of wheat, which she succeeded in selling for 10s. By making a special bargain for the straw she obtained another 6d., and

then she went cheerily about with her Bible-box until she collected 10s. more. When her contribution was announced at the annual meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary, her face "brightened up with a pleasant smile," and many a heart was deeply touched.[1]

For one more child-memory belonging to these years we must find a place. In the jubilee year of the Church Missionary Society (1848-49) a babe was born at the vicarage of St Erth, Cornwall. From his cradle he was dedicated to the service of God in the mission field, and the little son grew up a child of gracious promise, till he had reached his ninth year. Then sorrow fell on the house at St Erth; within three weeks the boy and a little sister were carried off by diphtheria. Yet even in that grievous loss and in the trials that followed, the parents were so sustained and comforted that they longed to make some thank-offering. The mission-child was gone, but his work remained, and they could help others to do it in his stead. They determined to collect a million pence, to be divided between the Church Missionary Society and the Bible Society. Rich and poor were invited to contribute; year by year the collecting went quietly on, and part of the proceeds was sent in to the Bible House. The vicar died, but in her new home near Falmouth his widow continued the work. In the Census years 1861, 1871, and 1881, special appeals were made, and the subscriptions were increased to the extent of some hundreds of pounds. The story runs beyond the period, for in 1891 Mrs Punnett made her fourth Census appeal. The little missionary had been forty-three years in his grave, but who can tell how many souls the living memory of him may have

[1] Twenty-six years go by. The little blind gleaner is a poor blind woman, afflicted, and unable to cross the threshold. The Bible is her light and consolation; and when the Peterchurch meeting comes round in the autumn of 1886 she applies to the deputation for a copy of the Psalms in the type for the blind. Her childish gleaning has not been forgotten; it is remembered, too, that from 1863-77 her Bible-box brought in an average of £5; one conceives with what feelings her wishes are granted.

helped to lead to Christ in the fields he never saw with earthly eyes?

If the people proved their steadfast affection for the Society, the Society on its part never forgot the people. In the hour of need and distress, disaster and war, its help and sympathy never failed, either at home or abroad. Of its many kind and thoughtful acts, however, one only shall be mentioned here. In the year 1877, on the 10th April, occurred the terrible flooding of the Tynewydd pit in the Rhondda Valley near Pontypridd. The day's work was done, and the men were making their way to the shaft, when suddenly every narrow lane and alley of the pit became a rushing stream. After those who had been able to struggle through the maze of waters had been drawn to the surface, it was found that fourteen were missing. A rescue party was at once made up; but what hope of success was there? Though the shaft was clear, each roadway into the depths of the workings was choked with water to the crown of the arch. Then a sound was heard which filled their hearts with joy and hope. It was a faint knocking that came from behind a wall of coal thirty feet thick. All through the night, man after man, they hewed a passage through that dense barrier, and four of the missing miners were saved and taken to the surface. For two days all was silence, desperation, and sorrow. On the evening of the second day a knocking was again heard, faint, from an almost hopeless distance. Attempts were made to pump out the mine, to send divers through the flooded roadways. These failed, and it was determined to cut a passage forty yards through the solid. On the tenth day of their imprisonment five more men were rescued, and as the last was brought to the bank a message was received—"The Queen is very anxious. Are they saved?" Her Majesty conferred on the rescuers the Albert Medal, which had hitherto been bestowed only for gallantry in saving life at sea. Bibles, containing an inscription signed by Lord

Shaftesbury, the President, were prepared for presentation to the men who had been rescued, to those who had laboured to save them, and to the widows of those who lost their lives.

The books were distributed at the annual meeting of the Pontypridd Auxiliary on the 13th June. In the open air, on the hill overlooking the town and the river, three thousand persons gathered near the Maen Chwyf, the grey rocking-stone beside which from time immemorial bards and minstrels had held their sessions. The speakers thanked God that the people of Wales still loved their Bible, and that the truths of the divine Book had proved their power in the pit. It was told how, in the hour of their dread, the buried miners had known where to seek for help, and instead of yielding to dumb despair, had found comfort in singing the old Welsh hymn—

"Yn y dyfroedd mawr a'r tonau"—
["In the great and surging waters."]

Then every man bared his head, and in the last light of the summer sunset there rose from that large assemblage the thrilling music which had been sung in the darkness of the flooded mine. When the Bibles had been presented, and David Jenkins, one of the colliers last rescued, had come forward, and in a voice trembling with emotion thanked "the old Society" on behalf of his comrades and himself, there fell a silence "which was something awful in its effect upon the minds of those present."

CHAPTER VII

THE KINDRED SOCIETIES

A BRIEF reference must now be made to the three national Bible Societies which sprang from the British and Foreign.

The Hibernian Bible Society entered on its fiftieth year on the 11th April 1855. The celebration was attended by the Rev. S. B. Bergne, who presented in the name of the Committee a contribution of one hundred guineas to its special jubilee fund. When the society was founded in 1806 there were not a dozen towns in Ireland besides the capital in which the Bible could be purchased; now there were 511 Auxiliaries, each with its well-stocked depôt, scattered over the country, and hawkers and colporteurs were making the sacred books familiar in the wilds of Kerry and Donegal.

Four years later (1859) the Hibernian ceased to be what the Bishop of Cashel called "a real Irish Auxiliary"—an Auxiliary which got help instead of giving it. Its executive was authorised to forward to the Bible House any surplus that remained after making provision for the needs of the country, so that Ireland too might bear its share in the evangelisation of the world. A gift of £300 was sent at once, and up to 1884, notwithstanding the fierce political agitation and the agrarian disorders of the time, these contributions amounted to £9300, and were from time to time supplemented by donations from Cork and Belfast. In 1867 it also took the place of the parent Society in relation to the Sunday School Society for Ireland, which had done so much for the education and spiritual enlightenment of the

people. In 1884 the issues of the Hibernian Bible Society amounted to 65,663 for the thirty years, and to 4,584,000 from its beginning.

During the interval which preceded the establishment of the National Bible Society of Scotland in 1861 the old relations with the North were maintained, as far as possible, by the Rev. William Swan, who succeeded Dr Paterson as the honorary representative of the parent Society in 1851, by Dr Norman Macleod, and by Mr Low of Greenock. In particular the Committee took a deep interest in the poor of the Highlands. Until his death in 1857 Mr Low laboured among the ships of all nations which put in to the estuary; boarded emigrant vessels and the coast steamers trading with the Western Isles and the Highland ports; and carried on colportage among the Gaelic-speaking families of the fisher villages and the nearer glens and lochsides of Argyll and Dumbarton. Between 1854 and 1862 £1091 was voted to Scotland; after that time the good-will of the Committee could only be shown by their readiness to co-operate with the Scottish National Society in more distant fields.

On the 6th July 1855 the Society's early agent Dr Paterson, who had done such splendid pioneer work on the Continent, passed away at the age of seventy-nine. Nearly four years later, his friend and colleague, Dr Henderson, died on the 16th May 1859 in his seventy-fifth year. At the same age William Swan, who had been enrolled among the Honorary Life Governors, died in Edinburgh on the 1st January 1866. His name carries us back to the early mission days among the Buriat tribes in the region of Lake Baikal, and to the Mongolian version which he and Mr Stallybrass were toiling to complete when the mission was suppressed by the Russian Government in 1840.

The Scottish Society throve rapidly. Its operations were extended to the Continent and to the remote East, and it bore its share in the arduous and costly work of translation.

Reciprocal acts of courtesy and helpfulness drew the two great institutions together; from time to time they were officially represented on each other's platforms; and if ever reference was made to the disruption caused by the Apocrypha controversy, it was to thank God that the bitterness of those bygone years had been forgotten in the common labour of diffusing the Scriptures throughout the world.

We have already spoken of the misery caused in Lancashire by the civil war in America. In that terrible struggle between North and South the resources of the American Bible Society were taxed to the uttermost. Although its steam-presses were capable of printing twelve copies every working minute, there were times when the demand from the Army could not be satisfied. During the four years 2,000,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions were circulated among the Army and Navy of the North. In spite of the fiery resentment which occasionally led to the Bible being intercepted as contraband of war, the American Bible Society succeeded in sending large supplies, under flag of truce, into the Confederate lines; and the Scriptures which were distributed among the troops of the South, in the field or in hospital and prison, amounted to 3,000,000 volumes. In 1862 the Committee in London placed at the disposal of the sister society a contribution of £2000. The assistance was gratefully declined, and that decision was amply justified by the liberality of the people of the States throughout the protracted conflict. But there were other ways in which, setting aside all political considerations and party prejudices, the executive of the British and Foreign Bible Society could show their solicitude for both sides. They despatched 15,000 volumes for the North; in the South, where the limited stocks in the depôts had been speedily exhausted, exceptional facilities were afforded to the new society which had been formed at Augusta for the

whole Confederacy, and, in addition to other grants, 310,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions were placed at the disposal of the Virginia Bible Society.

There appears to have been at the time a grudging murmur against waste. "Wilful waste," declared one who had laboured in camp and on battle-field, "was, I believe, entirely unknown." "I have never seen a copy of the Scriptures wantonly destroyed or thrown away," wrote another. "I have seen a torn Bible on the battle-field sprinkled with blood; *that* no soldier would take—it seemed too sacred, and it was buried with him who once possessed it. I have been astonished to find in field hospitals so many copies of the sacred Scriptures hidden away in the bosoms of poor wounded fellows, when everything else had been sacrificed to the Moloch of war." After the bloody battle of Stone River a lad of nineteen was found against the stump of a tree. His eyes were open, but fixed in death; his face was lit up with a smile; his well-worn Bible was open, and his cold hand touched the passage: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me."

At the anniversary meeting in Exeter Hall in 1866, two war Testaments were exhibited. One had been thrown away in the streets of Memphis, "but that Testament was picked up by another soldier, himself also careless and wicked, who was led, from the reading of it, to the foot of the Cross, where he found peace and joy. It was sent to the American Bible Society, who treasure it as a memento of the war." The other was an English book. It had run the blockade; it had found its way to a Confederate, who had put it in his breast. A bullet had struck it, had passed through from the last chapter of the Revelation to the first of Matthew, and glancing off the second cover, had left the man unscathed.

Peace ushered in the fiftieth year of the American Bible Society, and on the 10th May 1866 the Rev. T. Phillips,

senior District-secretary, and the Rev. Thomas Nolan of St Peter's, Regent Square, represented the British Society at its jubilee meeting in New York. As in the case of Dr Steinkopff at the British Jubilee, one survivor of the venerated band of its founders was present. Hoary with age and totally blind, but still erect in stature, Dr Spring Gardiner—a name beloved far beyond the limits of the States—stood on the platform, and delivered his last words of affectionate counsel and encouragement. After a solemn pause, Bishop M'Ilvaine of Ohio, one of the veterans of the cause, suggested, in a voice of deep emotion, that all should stand up in token of respect for the venerable friend who had just brought his public career to a close. Instantly the large assembly rose, and for some moments remained standing "in silence and in tears."

Another gracious incident must be recorded. One of the events of this jubilee celebration was the electrotyping of editions of a new Arabic Bible, begun by Dr Eli Smith and revised and completed by Dr Van Dyck in 1864. It was the fruit of sixteen years of continuous labour, and it placed the Scriptures within reach of over 120,000,000 people. Duplicate sets of plates were voted as a free gift to the British and Foreign Bible Society, partly in fulfilment of a sacred duty, partly "in recognition of that holy brotherhood in our glorious Bible-work, of which our British brethren were so generously and promptly mindful in those dark days when we were entering upon the struggle for our nation's life."

During the thirty years the Scriptures purchased direct from the Bible House by the American Bible Society amounted to the value of £15,286.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OPENING OF ITALY

MEANWHILE, on the Continent, the Society's operations were drawn into unity by that momentous drama in which the dominant scenes were enacted at Solferino, at Sadowa, in the darkening Basilica of St Peter, and within the fiery circle around Sedan; and our narrative will follow the sequences of events so strangely correlated and so far-reaching in their issues.

At the close of the Jubilee Year we left M. de Pressensé in control of the operations in France, and Lieutenant Graydon busy in Switzerland and Northern Italy. At Frankfort-on-the-Main Dr Pinkerton was the time-honoured representative of the Society from the Rhine to the Russian frontier. In that vast district, however, two energetic colleagues were gradually relieving him of two-thirds of his heavy charge. At Cologne Mr N. B. Millard, who had succeeded Mr Tiddy, was taking in the provinces of the north and west; in the east, his brother Edward Millard, who had been expelled from Austrian territory, had made Breslau the centre of a new field of distribution.

In 1854 active intercourse with Poland was suspended. Thirty-eight years had gone by since Dr Pinkerton had appealed in Warsaw to the Czar Alexander I., and his Majesty had sanctioned the establishment of the Polish Bible Society, with himself as its head. From 1832 the Warsaw depôt had been managed by the missionaries of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, and

26,273 copies of Scripture in Polish, German, Hebrew, and other languages had been put into circulation. Now the missionaries were banished by the Russian Government, though, happily, the ukase did not include the removal of the sacred books, and the stock of 4000 volumes was disposed of to the Consistory of the Lutheran Church.

The work of the Frankfort Agency was mostly conducted through correspondents—about one hundred in number—and some twenty religious associations and native Bible societies which had accepted the decision respecting the Apocrypha. In many places colportage was altogether forbidden; in others it was beset with serious restrictions, and embarrassed by official antipathy. One day the colporteur might be received in gracious audience by Princess or Grand Duke, welcomed by the police authorities, encouraged by a Papal or a Protestant ecclesiastical counsellor; on the next he might be driven from the door by the hostility of a Lutheran minister who repudiated a Bible without the Apocrypha, or by a priest who would not hear of the Bible at all. Still the Men with the Book went far afield. In summer they frequented the busy holiday resorts — Ems, Schwalbach, Baden-Baden, the watering-places in the romantic Taunus range; at other seasons they travelled in Bavaria, Thuringia, the Hartz Mountains, East Prussia.

In the autumn of 1855 Frederick William IV. visited the City of the Three Kings to lay the foundation-stone of a new bridge across the Rhine. The duodecimo German Bible had just left the Cologne press, and Mr Millard obtained an audience and presented a copy of it to his Majesty. "The King's Bible" sprang at once into popularity. In a few months 25,000 copies were exhausted, and an edition of 20,000 more was put to press. In 1856 Cologne became an independent agency. Ten, fifteen colporteurs spread the Word of God, from Alsace to

Holstein and Mecklenburg. The Lutherans insisted on the Apocrypha. At the cry of the priests ovens were heated for the destruction of "the Devil's Word"; screaming women and children mobbed the Bible-sellers in the street. Now and again a kindly priest helped the colporteur with his load or blessed his journeyings; but, welcomed or repulsed, the intrepid men pursued their way, and the sales rose from 18,000 to 21,000, to 32,000 copies a year. Between 100,000 and 200,000 volumes were passing annually through the press at Cologne—in curious contrast with the perilous days when Tindale hastily gathered up the furtively printed sheets of his New Testament, and fled for safety in his boat from that old Popish city.

In Silesia, Posen, East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Mr Edward Millard encountered similar difficulties — Protestant clergy warned by the provincial consistories against the suppression of the Apocrypha, old friends estranged, bigoted schoolmasters who pointed out the colporteur to their scholars as "the man with the false Bibles"; but here too a band of fifteen, the best of them sometime members of the Church of Rome, were at work among the strangely mixed population, and one heard of poor women trudging half a dozen miles to buy the Scriptures, of boys selling their skates in midwinter or platting straw mats to obtain the price of a Bible. In 1856 the Breslau depôt was placed in charge of a superintendent; the agency was transferred to Berlin. Edward Millard made his first arrangement for printing, and his orders in the course of the year covered 120,000 Bibles and Testaments in five languages.

In the summer of 1856 the old Berlin correspondent, Mr Elsner, who had devised the scheme for supplying the Prussian army with the Scriptures, died at the age of seventy-eight. He had long been blind, but had been able to continue his work with the aid of his son-in-law, Major

Westphal, who, with the approval of the King of Prussia, now became his successor. From 1831, when the project was started, to January 1857, the Bibles and Testaments circulated among the troops amounted to 427,347 copies.

Late in the same year (1857), with sight failing and the infirmities of age weighing heavy upon him, Pinkerton returned to England, released from his protracted service. Dr Paterson had just been laid in his grave; four-and-forty years before, while the Grand Army was marching on Borodino, he and Paterson first met in Moscow to discuss plans for a Russian Bible Society. How the world had wagged since then! The sacred earth beneath the weeping-willows had surrendered its dead, and Napoleon was sleeping at the Invalides in the huge tomb of Finland granite given by the Czar Nicholas. Nicholas too was gone, and a second Alexander filled the throne of All the Russias. Of the early Biblemen Steinkopff and Henderson and Alers Hankey still survived, but the shadows of sundown were lengthening round them all. An annuity of £200 was provided for the aged pioneer. He did not need it long. After several months of acute suffering, God granted the prayer recorded in the last entry in his journal, that "his end might be peace in Jesus"; and on the 7th April 1859 he entered into his rest. "The Bible Society has indeed been most fortunate in its agents," wrote Lord Teignmouth in 1821, "and in none more than in Dr Pinkerton." "The mere fact that I was his successor," said the Rev. G. Palmer Davies,[1] who was appointed to the vacancy, "was a sort of *Open Sesame* to the hearts of all Christians."

During his residence at Frankfort the Bible cause had grown from strength to strength. Apart from the work at

[1] George Palmer Davies was born in Wales, and educated for the ministry at Homerton College under Dr J. Pye Smith. Failing health compelled him to resign his first and only pastorate, at Wandsworth, and he had been residing for some time in Germany when the agency at Frankfort was offered him. He was then in his thirty-first year.

Cologne and Breslau, he himself circulated through Central Europe 1,524,512 copies of the Scriptures in many languages. In his closing years the German Bible Societies, the Canstein Institution, the Scottish and American agencies at Hamburg and Bremen were in active co-operation; upwards of a hundred colporteurs belonging to various organisations were traversing the country; and the annual aggregate distribution was estimated at not less than 400,000 copies. The catechisms and school-books of the neologists were giving place to the Scriptures; home missionary unions and evangelical artisan associations were spreading the knowledge of the Word of God. Among the Roman Catholics so many of the laity and of the old parish priests were still accessible that the first edition of Van Ess's Bible, issued in 1855, was speedily exhausted. It was on this vast acceptance of the Scriptures among the masses of the people that Dr Pinkerton rested his hopes for distracted Germany in the crisis which threatened faith and freedom. For an intolerant spirit had revived the old controversies between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; in the name of science the conclusions and speculations of a lawless materialism were being scattered broadcast; by the Concordat of 1855 Austria had surrendered the schools, the press, and the spiritual liberties of its subjects to the Papacy, against whose subtle diplomacy in most of the German States he saw no safeguard save in the open Bible.

Between March 1854 and March 1857 the distribution from the three agencies had been :—

Frankfort, 182,397; Cologne, 220,021; Breslau-Berlin, 134,975 copies.

During the next three years remarkable progress was made. The number of colporteurs was considerably increased, a branch of the Cologne depôt was opened at Hanover, and the circulation in the eastern district was doubled by the transfer of work from Breslau to Berlin. In 1858 Mr Palmer

Davies took over the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland, and at the beginning of 1860 the whole of the Swiss Confederation was annexed to Frankfort. The Kingdom of Würtemberg had followed the example of Austria in its subservience to the Papacy; Baden and Hesse-Cassel were negotiating concordats with Rome; and in Switzerland the priesthood had been aroused to an aggressive hostility, but still there were signs of a spiritual awakening in many places. Strange to say, at this juncture the friends of the cause, who sowed in faith beside all waters, were cheered by a direct manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit to lead men to truth by the written Word alone.

In the Library at the Bible House is preserved the "Hohenzollern Bible," a costly, and, in its time, a beautiful book adorned with copper-plate engravings. It was presented to the Society through Mr Palmer Davies in 1860; and this is its story. Early in the century, when Swabia was scarcely less Popish than Spain, Xavier Ruhn, a village schoolmaster at Bietinghausen in the little principality of Hohenzollern, obtained a copy of the Bible published at Nuremberg in 1781. The text had been revised by the Benedictine monks and the Jesuits of Mayence; passages containing "clear proofs of Catholic doctrine" were "starred" and printed in large type; and a lengthy catechism had been added, to preserve the reader from heretical interpretations. The study of this volume gathered about Ruhn a small company of earnest inquirers. Other copies and different versions—even Luther's at last—were bought for comparison with the approved text; and without the aid of a human teacher the Holy Spirit began its work. The Bible-readers quietly abstained from confession, and discontinued all rites and ceremonies for which they found no Scriptural authority. Still they showed no wish to leave their Church, and they might have remained to the end had they been granted the freedom of the Gospel. But when

was sacerdotalism at once powerful and tolerant? Priestly arguments, warnings, threats, persecution were tried in vain. Arrest and imprisonment followed. Appeal was made to the highest court, and on the last day of the trial at Sigmaringen, the Prince himself, after listening to the proceedings from an adjoining room, interposed and ordered the accused to be set at liberty. No word of resentment, no sign of schism marred the humility of their faith. Then, we are told, "the Church changed its tactics." Absence from confession, disregard of fasts and festivals were overlooked; even the "rinsing-cup," as a compromise on communion in both forms, was conceded. Years went by, and the old priests were succeeded by men who insisted on submission. The chalice was withdrawn, and the Bible-readers felt that the time was come for them to go forth from the Church of their fathers. Thirty-nine persons—several over seventy years of age and the youngest more than twenty—declared their intention to secede. All but four, whose courage failed them at the last, were received into the fellowship of the Protestant faith on the 2nd February 1858, and they were followed by eleven more on the 2nd September 1860.

From 1857 to March 1860 the circulation of the three agencies exceeded 943,000 volumes; 241,431 were issued from Frankfort, 297,259 from Cologne, 404,420 from Berlin; and by this rapid expansion the aggregate for the six years sprang up to nearly 1,500,000 copies of Scripture. It was a glorious achievement, but the outlay was heavy. The books alone were valued at £100,000; little more than half that amount was realised by their sale; and it became a question whether, considering the increasing needs of countries less favoured, too large a proportion of income was not being expended on a land which had long been reminded of its Bible privileges. Any reduction, however, seemed so sure to result in calamity, that the Committee decided to proceed in faith, and to lighten the burden by a slight increase in

prices, and by the formation of local Associations among the inhabitants and foreign residents.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Graydon had been making fair progress in Switzerland. For lack of efficient men next to nothing could be done by colportage in the cantons where it was permitted, but the Lieutenant himself, as he travelled from one parish to another with his well-stocked Bible-van, was worth many colporteurs ; and several thousands of copies were yearly scattered abroad from the depôts at Lausanne, Berne, Geneva, and Neuchâtel. For some time, indeed, the great Romish canton of Lucerne appeared to be "silently but surely coming under the blessed influence of the New Testament," but in 1857 a strong reaction in favour of Romanism forced him to withdraw his stores from Lucerne and Zürich. Still, in that year even, the distribution in Switzerland exceeded 22,000 copies. In 1858 the depôt at the Hôtel Gibbon, Lausanne, from which 15,000 copies had been sold, was closed in consequence of a change of proprietors. That at Neuchâtel, however, remained a conspicuously active centre of voluntary service. It was one of those started by the Lieutenant in 1845, at the earnest request of Mlle. Gruet. Her parents gladly made room for the precious charge under their own roof, and in the course of time eighteen small dependencies were formed in various parts of the district, and the sales had grown to nearly 7000 copies a year. Graydon's last visit was marked by a pleasant incident. While he was at the depôt a mountaineer arrived with horse and car to purchase 500 volumes, which he was taking home to some watch-maker village in the folds of the Jura. Co-operation on a larger scale was not wanting. A society for the diffusion of the Bible without the Apocrypha was formed at Basel in 1854, and the Committee assisted its work by a grant of £200 and 500 volumes of the Word of God.

From the Jubilee Year to the beginning of 1860, when

the whole of Switzerland was transferred to the Frankfort Agency, Lieutenant Graydon had distributed in the different cantons 112,228 Bibles and Testaments.

In Italy work was difficult, progress of the slowest. How could it be otherwise in the Italy of these years? The Austrian flag shook its blighting shadow over Venice and Lombardy; the Two Sicilies cowered under the brutal tyranny of King Bomba; the Vatican spun the iron web of its traditional policy of intellectual suppression and spiritual terrorism. The Bible was a book doubly accursed, as the symbol and charter of religious freedom and of constitutional rights. Yet even in these dark hours of despotism this strange fact is to be noted. The Archbishop of Florence, who in 1848 peremptorily refused his permission to print the Scriptures, has so far changed his course that an excellent, cheap, annotated edition of the New Testament—the text that of Martini, himself an Archbishop of Florence less than a century ago—is now issued to the faithful, with the *imprimatur*, and indeed the pastoral commendation, of his Grace: "No, it is not the *use* but the *abuse* of the Scriptures which the Church forbids to her children when she prohibits their reading those versions which have been mutilated and adulterated by heretic pens, or not approved for want of necessary comments." Thus far at least, in 1854, have we got since the Madiai were rescued from the dungeons of our Grand Duke and banished from the soil of Tuscany. Remembering the saving grace of Xavier Ruhn's Bible, shall we not be devoutly thankful for one good day's work at the hands of this Archbishop of Florence?

Except, then, in the Kingdom of Sardinia, the whole peninsula was closed against Bible-work. In that northwestern corner, if it was not fully appreciated, it was countenanced by the law. "Perfect equality and the civil emancipation of all religious beliefs"— so much King Charles Albert had been anxious to establish when he

granted the constitution; and "his successor has worthily followed his example," wrote the Marquis d'Azeglio, acknowledging the Committee's address to Victor Emmanuel on his visit to England in December 1855. But little was possible in a Piedmont harassed by twenty-three thousand ecclesiastics raging against suppression of monasteries and reduction of privileges, and the Holy Father anathematising the "horrible and incredible assault of the Subalpine Government." Five thousand four hundred copies were distributed in 1854; 6800 in 1855. Discreet Biblemen were hard to come by; and colportage was limited by other obstructions, illiteracy the worst. In 1854 Lieutenant Graydon landed in Sardinia, and was received "with almost brotherly embraces." A friendly but distressingly illiterate island; "swarming with friars and monks, who took right good care to keep every one of us in as much ignorance as possible"; so that in a population of 550,000 over 90 per cent. were unable to read. Depôts were stocked at Cagliari, Sassari, Alghero; and Graydon left them—with hopes too sanguine to be quickly realised among people who had "to go well-armed to market" of a morning.

In 1855 the depôt at Nice was placed in charge of Francesco Madiai, and a sub-agency was formed at Genoa. Feluccas from Elba traded in charcoal with the old port of Nice, and Madiai, falling in with one of the skippers, gave him a Bible. The man read it, went trip after trip to the depôt to talk about it, became more and more interested, brought some of his crew, and they took the Scriptures home with them. In three or four years the island had its Vaudois pastor, its colporteur, and in three distinct places groups of believers had entered on a new spiritual life. The sub-agency at Genoa was intrusted to another Florentine sufferer —Signor Betti, who in 1851 had been surprised by the police reading the Gospel of St John with six of his

friends, committed to prison, and afterwards banished.[1] Four colporteurs were speedily at work, in the city, among the shipping, in the surrounding country; the Scriptures were exposed for sale in one of the great squares; and by 1858 six subsidiary depôts were in operation. At Turin and elsewhere a remarkable impulse was given to public interest by the return of the Sardinian troops from the Crimea. They were the heroes of the hour. They had manned the trenches, "from the mud of which Italy was to be made"; they had beaten the Russians at Tchernaya; they had brought back with them the thousands of Bibles and Testaments which they had read in camp by candle-light "most nights after the retreat was sounded,"[2] and which they now eagerly showed to their friends as they spoke of the incidents of the war. Bishops threatened dire penalties; priests, who bought copies which they tore up or burnt on the spot, tried to rouse the passions of the mob; colporteurs were maltreated and cast into prison; but the work prospered, and in the three years, 1856-58, the average distribution exceeded 12,600 volumes.

In the spring of 1859 Italy was vibrating with the tramp of war. Sardinia had refused to disarm; Austrian regiments were massing on the Ticino; French troops were pouring into Piedmont. On the 12th May Napoleon III. reached Genoa, and eight days later the Austrians were defeated at Montebello. Success followed success—Palestra, Magenta, Marignano; and on the 24th June the freedom of Lombardy was won on the heights of Solferino. The Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena had expelled their sovereigns, the Romagna had flung off the Papal yoke, and before the end of the autumn these States had declared for annexation to Piedmont. Notwithstanding the confusion and excitement of the time, 23,850 copies of the Scriptures were circulated

[1] Signor Betti died in December 1864.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 292.

during the year. Between 2000 and 3000 were sold among the troops at Turin and Nice. In June operations were begun in Milan, where 1300 copies had long been detained at the custom-house. Over 11,600 were issued from the Genoa depôt, and Signor Betti's men tried new ground in Lombardy and the liberated Duchies. From Leghorn Mr T. H. Bruce, "an English resident," whose name soon became familiar, made a tour through the Duchies and as far east as San Marino. In November a depôt was opened in Florence, Bible advertisements appeared in the Government newspapers, and colporteurs took up the work which had been so abruptly stopped, ten years before, by the disaster of Novara. The stir of this eventful time was not confined to Italy. Between the outbreak of hostilities and the second week of July the South German societies drew upon the Frankfort Agency for 16,000 New Testaments for distribution among the troops in Würtemburg, Baden, and Bavaria, for the Austrian contingent in the fortress of Ulm, and for the Austrian prisoners of war at Marseilles and other French towns.

On the 11th May Garibaldi and his Thousand landed in Sicily. On the 15th the Neapolitan troops were routed at Calatafimi. The young king,[1] in his panic, "telegraphed five times in twenty-four hours for the blessing of the Pope," but the great *Condottiere* pressed on. Palermo was stormed on the 27th, and the new Sicilian constitution proclaimed on the 3rd August. Lieutenant Graydon was promptly on the spot, and after some vexatious delay a depôt was established in Palermo. It took some time for the people to realise their liberty, but by the end of the year 700 copies of the Scriptures were sold in Sicily.

The "Red Shirts" entered Naples in September. On the 19th of that month an excited crowd—"women, with

[1] Ferdinand II. ("Bomba") had died in May 1859, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II., the last King of Naples.

outstretched hands and tears streaming down their cheeks, vociferating their thanks ; strong men sobbing like children " —witnessed the " miracle " of St Januarius ; before the month was out Gavazzi was denouncing the imposture, and the Bible Society's agent and his colporteur were offering the Word of Life to the wondering people. What a sight in the busy thoroughfare of the Toledo : a lad sitting at a large tray of Bibles and Testaments and arresting passers-by with his shrill cry, *Il Libro ! Il Libro !* ["The Book ! The Book !"]. "Let September 25,[1] 1860," exclaimed the *Times* correspondent, "be written in red letters in the history of the Two Sicilies, as the day when the true light of freedom was shed on this country. Diodati's Bibles selling in the streets of Naples ! — who could ever have believed it ?" "The book," wrote Mr Bruce, "seemed almost as new to the priests as to the people, and some of the former were among the first to buy it." By the end of the year 4438 copies had been sold, and a depôt started under the care of Signor Cresi, a Neapolitan, who had devoted himself to the evangelising of his countrymen.

In that memorable September Cavour responded to the appeal of the insurgents in Umbria and the Marches ; fifty thousand Sardinians crossed the Pontifical frontier ; Pesaro, Perugia, Ancona fell in quick succession, and by the end of the month the Papal States were free. Austria still held Venetia, the Holy Father was still the secular monarch of Rome, but otherwise from the Alpine snows to the fires of Ætna Italy had won its right to be a nation.

During the year at least thirty colporteurs were travelling with a cheap and open Bible through Sicily and the cities and villages of the peninsula, and the circulation rose to 30,000 copies. They traversed Tuscany, the Marches, the Abruzzi without molestation. One of them, with his

[1] The sales began on the 22nd ; apparently they did not come under the correspondent's notice till the 25th.

tray of books, took his stand under the arches of the main street of the old Etruscan city of Pisa, crying, *La Luce! La Luce!* ["The Light! The Light!"]—and not in vain. A depôt was opened in Milan. Nice, which had now become French territory, was attached to the Paris Agency, and Signor Madiai returned to his native province. And other agencies were at work — the Geneva Committee, the Waldensian Church, the Scottish Bible Societies (not yet amalgamated), who were eager to share in the privilege of giving the Word of God to the Italian people. A most significant fact in its bearing on liberty of religious thought and action—2000 copies of Diodati's New Testament were issued from the Waldensian press in Turin, without archiepiscopal sanction, and without let or hindrance on the part of the Government. The Committee bore half the expense, and arrangements were made for other editions. "I believe," said Sir Robert Peel from his place in Parliament, "that the Reformation has commenced in Italy."

Lieutenant Graydon resigned in the autumn of 1860. He had been a regular servant of the Society since 1851, but his connection with Bible-work dated, as we have seen, from 1835, and for many years he had given his labours for love of the cause. He was succeeded by Mr T. H. Bruce, who entered on his duties in September, in time to take advantage of the occupation of Naples. Thomas Humble Bruce was a younger brother of Dr John Collingwood Bruce, secretary of the Newcastle Auxiliary, and the well-known historian of the Roman Wall. He had resided at Leghorn as a schoolmaster to the English colony since 1846, had long been interested in the welfare of the Tuscan people, and had given what help he could to the spread of the Gospel. Copies of the Scriptures in Italian, secreted in bales of goods and consigned to God-fearing merchants, were smuggled ashore by Bruce and his wife, and in the course of frequent journeys were passed into Florence. It

was at his house, in 1851, that the Florentine monk Verona changed his garb and escaped in the guise of an Englishman's servant—to become a missionary in Smyrna; and in the same year, when Leghorn was swarming with Austrian troops, Bruce sheltered the convert Bolognini, till he could get him safely on board a vessel for Malta. His aptitude for teaching he inherited from one grandfather, John Bruce, the famous North of England schoolmaster; his love of the Bible from the other, who as a shepherd lad had spent his days in learning many a psalm and chapter among his flock on the Forfar hills. A change was now made in the working arrangements for the Mediterranean, and the range of the Italian Agency to which Mr Bruce was appointed included Northern Africa, Egypt, and Syria. Of these countries, however, we shall not speak in the present chapter.

Italy was free, but 1848 had not been forgotten. In the midst of the intense political excitement, the passion for *Roma capitale*, men could not shake off the dread that the reign of terror might again return. Many friends of the old order still occupied places of trust and authority. The priests, who possessed "the power of the keys," who could refuse baptism to the new-born babe, absolution to the dying, religious rites to the dead, still held their terrible sway over the souls of masses of the people. All these conditions retarded the spread of the Word of Life, but, notwithstanding the scarcity of suitable workers, the Scriptures were scattered abroad in thousands. With the courage of faith the colporteurs faced the dangers of their hard life. One was imprisoned for five days on bread and water, and then released for lack of sufficient evidence against him; another, in the Abruzzi, was stripped to his shirt by brigands who wore the rosary round their necks, and a red band with an image of the Madonna round their hats; a third was more fortunate—the marauders returned him his money and books,

with the exception of seventeen Bibles and Testaments which they kept for themselves. From Vesuvius to the Sila forest the hills were infested by Bourbon banditti, but the Biblemen pushed through into Calabria and Otranto; Ischia, Procida, and Capri were visited; and work was begun afresh in the Island of Sardinia. Before the close of 1864, 35 colporteurs were in the field; a depôt had been opened in Ancona; 15,000 copies of Diodati's New Testament had been issued from the press at Florence; and Sunday schools had been begun in various parts of the country. On a stormy night in November that year, at Naples, where but a little while ago police guarded the doors of the English Church to prevent any Italian from entering, a Bible Society was founded at a meeting of over a hundred Italians and English.

The grave danger of the time was that political and religious liberty might be taken as a final goal, and that the fanaticism of Popery might be exchanged for the hatred or indifference of infidelity. That danger chiefly threatened the wealthy and educated, on whom the Gospel seemed to make little impression. In striking contrast with the course of the Reformation, when the truth made its way in the first instance among the upper classes, to-day, through the good providence of God, the Scriptures were in possession of the poorest, and it was not the high but the lowly—the small shopkeepers, the artisans, the labouring people—who were beginning to work out the true emancipation of Italy.

On the 8th December 1864 Pius IX. published in his famous Syllabus "of the principal errors of our time" the arrogant claim of the Church of Rome "to ecclesiastical dominion over civil society."[1] We need not dwell on that amazing document, which did not even profess to be a

[1] *The Pope, the King, and the People*, p. 46—an exhaustive account, based chiefly on Roman Catholic authorities, of the Syllabus, and of the proceedings and "true inwardness" of the Vatican Council, by the Rev. William Arthur, M.A., sometime secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and a Vice-President of he Bible Society.

proclamation of the glory and redemption of the Cross, and in which, from the seventeenth article to the eightieth, "there was not a single proposition," to use the words of a living French statesman, "that did not condemn the principles of justice and liberty whereon modern society is based." Its desperate folly was soon to be eclipsed by a more stupendous attempt to usurp divine authority on earth.

The Bible Society pursued its course with unabated energy, and its labours were encouraged by visible results. In many of the smaller towns and some of the villages of Piedmont, in the cities along the Adriatic shore, from Ancona to "the heel of the boot," groups of believers met together for the simple worship of the Early Church. Canon Storelli of Corato was not the only priest who resigned his charge to preach the pure Gospel. In remote places colporteurs came upon individuals and families who had been led to Christ by the Bible alone; and in one instance three countrymen from beyond Benevento journeyed to Naples to learn how they and their families should celebrate the Lord's Supper.

In 1866 Venetia was wrested from Austria and added to united Italy; but at this point we must return to the record of events in Germany.

That good friend of the cause, Frederick William IV., was dead, and his successor, William I., had graciously accepted a Bible and a congratulatory address from the Society.[1] On the 10th March 1861, Mr N. B. Millard succumbed to a sudden attack of rheumatic fever, and the Cologne Agency was merged in that of Frankfort.

Recent events had convinced the Emperor Francis Joseph that his government must be established on a more liberal basis. A new constitution was promulgated, concessions were made to his Protestant subjects, and early in 1861 the Committee received the welcome tidings that at last the

[1] A little later his Majesty continued the annual subscription of £25 which his brother began in 1842.

laws which prevented the introduction of the Scriptures into the dominions of Austria had been rescinded. Unhappily their gratification was premature. Journeys to the capital, interviews with officials, memorials warmly supported by the chief Protestant Ecclesiastical Council of the Empire, all failed to receive the prompt decision so freely promised. Three years of suspense and vexatious silence elapsed before sanction was granted, and then it was limited by the press and trade regulations. Still the rights of printing and distribution were conceded. Operations were at once begun at Pesth; on the 14th November 1864 Mr Edward Millard threw open the doors of the depôt in Vienna; and arrangements were made for a third centre at Prague.

He flung himself heartily into the new field with the energy and ubiquity of the Society's great organisers. He was busy everywhere — from the Tyrol to Poland, from the Riesen Gebirge to Montenegro. More than once his presence at Belgrade safeguarded the depôt at a critical juncture, and prevented interruption in the Principality of Servia. Transylvania had no railways and few public roads. He hurried through that strange country of many races. On his way thither he discovered at Temesvar a solitary Bible, priced at £2; heard of a recent edition in folio at Hermanstadt, published at £6; and secured a depositary at Klausenburg, in the centre of the Magyar population. Protestant privileges were soon annulled in the Tyrol, but some progress was made in Austrian Italy, and a small sub-depôt was founded at Ragusa for Dalmatia and Istria, though little could be done in consequence of the illiteracy of the people. In 1866 he was enabled to concentrate his attention on his Austrian work by the transfer of the Berlin Agency to the Rev. Dr D. W. Simon of Manchester, who had been in charge of the depôt since 1863. He made another journey to Warsaw in the spring, with the happy result that once more the

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Bible House, Entrance Hall.

Scriptures were placed within reach of the Polish people. Opposition was not wanting. The Society was denounced from the Romish pulpits as corrupters of God's Word and disturbers of the peace; the depôt was searched by the military for seditious publications; but the blessing of heaven rested on the undertaking, and by the following February 34,400 volumes had been distributed.

The following figures show the early successes of the Austrian agency: — November 1864 to February 1865 — 25,298 copies; February 1865 to February 1866—58,091; February 1866 to February 1867 — 156,396: a total of 239,785 copies.

Meanwhile, in the Frankfort and Berlin Agencies the work was expanding with a vitality scarcely less remarkable. The rise in prices was abandoned in 1863, and in the following year the sales reached the highest figures yet attained. Between 1860 and 1866 the number of colporteurs was increased from 54 to 73, and the patient, prayerful men carried the Scriptures northward as far as the East Frisian Islands on the west and Memel on the east. The old troubles beset them — the teachings of infidelity, the predilection for the Apocrypha, the opposition of the priests. In Upper Silesia, where the straits of the Holy Father were attributed to Protestantism, the steadfast Bibleman met the threatened terrors of excommunication with words of encouragement: "Come, come—cheer up, good folk! The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. Christ's grave has sanctified our grave, wherever it may be dug; we require no priest's hand to consecrate it. As to this book, it is the Holy Bible, of which Christ spoke to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, and of which they said, 'Did not our heart burn within us while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?'" Yet these were no idle threats. In one of Mr Palmer Davies's districts, an old man and his wife who

had accepted the truth of the Gospel were publicly excommunicated. Shortly before the old man's death two priests visited him, but he refused to recant. The Church refused him Christian burial, and he was about to be laid in a grave dug on a common road when a colporteur induced the authorities of a Protestant parish to take the corpse and give it honourable interment.

New editions were continually passing through the press — in 1865 alone 302,860 volumes in eight languages were printed under Mr Millard's supervision at an outlay of £15,645. Among new versions were the Psalms and Pentateuch translated into Servian by Dr Gjuro Daniçiç; and a Samogit Testament was issued for the benefit of the Polish insurgents exiled to Siberia after the rising of 1863. The project of forming local Auxiliaries was in some measure realised. Admirable service was rendered by that founded at Frankfort for the supply of the city and the surrounding district, and material assistance was given by others at Stuttgart and Canstadt, Bonn, Hamburg, and Dresden, and by a Ladies' Association at Carlsruhe.

In Switzerland colportage became more practicable. Men were employed in St Gall, the Grisons and the four Forest Cantons; the Geneva Society undertook the travelling in the Canton de Vaud, and work was resumed at Lucerne and Zürich. Large quantities of books were distributed through correspondents and native societies, and a zealous spirit animated the various depôts. The average circulation—35,700 copies—of the three years 1860-63 rose to 49,800 for the next four.

Among the free copies devoted to public institutions and benevolent organisations may be mentioned the first grant (in 1864) to Sunday schools connected with the National Churches, which had just adopted that plan of religious instruction.[1] The extension of the movement was

[1] "In the summer of 1863," wrote Mr Palmer Davies, some sixteen years after

gradual, but at the end of 1866 there were in Germany 45 Lutheran Sunday schools, with 600 teachers and over 6000 scholars. Nor should the Society's solicitude for the sightless be forgotten. The preparation of the Bible in Braille for the use of the patients connected with the Blind Asylum at Lausanne was suspended for lack of funds. On condition that the balance should be subscribed, the Committee promised a grant of £200 towards the £320 still required. The remaining £120 was provided by the Bible Societies of the Canton de Vaud, Geneva, and Neuchâtel, and the beneficent enterprise was completed.

Of the amazing progress made in this brief interval, of the eagerness of the vast populations of Central Europe to possess the Word of Life, figures alone can afford a real criterion. During the seven years 1860-67, close upon 2,660,000 copies of Scripture, in a very Pentecost of tongues, were distributed through the three agencies:—from Cologne, 630,000; from Frankfort, 778,000; from Berlin, 1,012,000; from the centres in Austria, 239,785. In the last year alone of the series, 1866-67, the aggregate was 588,327—nearly one-fourth of the Society's annual circulation throughout the entire world.

During the seven years, moreover, one heard so often "of revivals in whole districts, of the conversion of individuals, of the consolations of the Word in the chambers of the sick and dying, and of the establishment of spiritual communities and churches, in which the authority of God's holy Book had been accepted as the supreme rule of faith and practice," that it was impossible to think the Bible had been circulated in Germany to no purpose.

We must now touch on other incidents in the train

the event, "Mr Woodruff of New York and Mr Broekelmann of Heidelberg started on their German Sunday-school tour, and made their first halt in Frankfort-on-the-Main. They found from thirty to forty children, whom my wife gathered around her for a little Sunday service. They organised these children into groups according to age and sex, induced Mrs Davies to associate four young ladies with her as teachers, and so the first Sunday school in Germany was founded."—*Report* for 1880, p. 42.

of national events which were shaping the future of the Society in Europe. In January 1864 Austria joined Prussia in wresting the Duchies of Sleswick and Holstein from Denmark. During the unequal struggle 11,623 copies of the Scriptures were distributed by the Copenhagen Agency in the Danish camps and among the sick and wounded. Mr Palmer Davies hastened to the headquarters of the allies, and five of his best colporteurs were incessantly at work in the hospitals, at the busy railway stations, among the prisoners of war, at the guard-rooms, in the neighbouring farms, which were swarming with troops. From the forts of Düppel and the frontiers of Jutland down to the Elbe he found the bloody story of the short campaign recorded in the continuous line of lazarets and hospitals. "The Pole," he wrote, "lies silent, and cannot say a word to the Hungarian, his neighbour, on a bed of suffering; nor can he in turn address his next neighbour, the Bohemian; nor he the Italian; nor he the Dane; nor he the German; but in Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Italian, Danish, and German the little book tells its story of divine love." In these languages, and in Dutch, Servian, and Lithuanian, 22,719 volumes were sent out to the war from the Frankfort Agency.

In less than two years the question of these Duchies led to the fierce contest which was to decide the predominance of the Hapsburg or the Hohenzollern in Germany. Italy leagued with Prussia on condition that there should be no peace until Venetia had been surrendered. On the 18th June 1866 war with Austria was declared, and as the line of military occupation shifted to the north or to the south the operations of the Frankfort Agency were divided between the Federal and the Prussian forces. Besides the Cologne staff, army chaplains, ministers, and unofficial friends, eight colporteurs were at work about Frankfort—two of them Brethren from the missionary college at St Chrischona, near Basel, three others men in the employ of the Stuttgart

and Carlsruhe Bible Societies. In all, 62,137 copies were distributed—24,000 among the Federal troops, 38,000 among the Prussians.

From the first there was little doubt as to the issue of the strife. Johann Dreyse's needle gun swept all before it. Three Prussian armies entered Bohemia on the 27th June. Within a week the Austrians had fallen back on Königgrätz, whose gates preserved in sculpture, surrounded with various Bohemian texts of Scripture, the memory of the martyrdom of Huss. At Sadowa, six-and-twenty miles away, the supremacy in Central Europe was given on the 3rd July to the children of the Reformation.

From Vienna Mr Millard and his staff distributed 35,627 copies, and over 12,000 more were disposed of by Dr Simon in the hospitals and prison camps in the Berlin Agency. The entire circulation among the contending armies was not less than 109,764 volumes.

Of the many stirring incidents in this Seven Weeks' War one may be transferred to these pages. An Austrian colporteur met a squadron of horse, and offered them Portions of the Scripture. They asked what induced him to do so. He told them it was the gift of Christian love. They wanted to know his name, but he replied that he was no more than a messenger. Then said one: "This is perhaps from what people call a Bible Society." "Yes," he answered, "so it is; it is from the English Bible Society." So they got out their lead-pencils, and while riding on, marked down on the fly-leaf the place and date of this happy encounter. Then, turning in their saddles, they shouted, as of one accord: "Thanks to the Bible Society!"

As the result of the campaign, Venetia, the last possession of Austria south of the Alps, was ceded to France, and annexed by plebiscite to the kingdom of Italy; and the Iron Crown, enshrining in gold and jewels one of the nails said to have been used at the Crucifixion, was resigned to King Victor at Turin, on the 4th November 1866. For the first

time "the City of the Sea" was thrown open to the Society, and among the colporteurs were three Venetian exiles "who were thankful to carry back to their own province the Book of which they had learned the value among strangers." Close upon 50,000 copies were scattered abroad in Italy in 1867. Up to that point, no doubt, the rapidly-increasing circulation of the Scriptures was aided by political aspirations (many patriots bought the Bible "not that they might live as Christians, but might breathe as free men") and by a curiosity to examine the volume which had been stigmatised by the priests as a cunning device of Satan to lure the rash and the weak to perdition. A considerable declension in sales occurred during the next three years of public agitation, but signs were not wanting that the smaller circulation was consistent with a wider and truer awakening to spiritual things.

In September 1868 his Holiness Pope Pius IX. convened the twentieth Œcumenical Council. Crowds of stately ecclesiastics from thirty nations testified to the widespread authority of the Church of Rome. Too old to travel in his ninety-fourth year, his Grace of Lima sent his pastoral staff of pure Peruvian gold; but prelates from the sees of the New World were brought into contact with Asiatic archbishops who bore "the names of those famous and fallen Churches to which the Apostle John conveyed mysterious words of commendation and rebuke eighteen centuries ago." Yet what a change had stricken the traditions of the Papacy! The Bull of Convocation contained no invitation to the Princes of Christendom. "Spain was fallen, Poland was extinct, Italy was hostile, Austria was enfeebled, France was strong but not sound — there were no Catholic States."[1] "The order in which society has existed for the last thousand years," wrote Louis Veuillot, the uncompromising Ultramontane journalist, "has ceased to be. What has been called the Middle Ages has come to an end."

[1] Arthur, *The Pope, the King, and the People*, p. 138.

The Council met, and five hundred and thirty-three prelates and princes of the Church assented to the most amazing aggression that has ever threatened the freedom of the human spirit. On the 18th July 1870 Pope Pius IX. proclaimed the dogma of his own infallibility as the successor of St Peter. A thunder-storm was raging; thunderbolts fell in the Eternal City; flashes of lightning blazed through the darkness of the Basilica of St Peter, and as the thunder pealed overhead the Sovereign Pontiff read, by the light of the tapers held at his side, the fourfold anathema of the new canons. "Many said, God is installing the new Moses upon the new Sinai";[1] others heard in these thunderings the artillery not of an enthronement but of a revolution.

On that very day the French courier was on his way from Paris to Berlin, bearing the Emperor's declaration of war against Germany. Between the lines of that declaration was written the doom of the "temporal power." "There is reason to believe that the incitement to the great war between France and Germany came from Rome. The great Council of the Vatican was to meet in 1869, and if, simultaneously with the promulgation of the decree of Papal Infallibility that would stamp the Syllabus as of faith, Prussia were levelled in the dust, Austria and France might join hands over her body to restore in some fashion the supremacy of the Church, and to defeat the aspirations of Italy."[2] On the 4th August the Crown Prince of Prussia crossed the frontier, and the disasters of France began. Four days later the regiments of "the Eldest Son of the Church" and the last champion of the temporal power evacuated Rome.

But here we must pause until we have brought the affairs of the French Agency into line with these memorable events.

[1] Arthur, *The Pope, the King, and the People*, p. 635.

[2] Baring-Gould, *The Church in Germany*, p. 381. *See* also *The Pope, the King, and the People*, pp. 208-9, and Prince Bismarck's speech in Parliament, 4th December 1874.

CHAPTER IX

THE *DÊBÂCLE*—FRENCH AND PAPAL

THE story of the Paris Agency during these sixteen years (1854-70) is the record of a protracted struggle, which heightened in its intensity as the numbered days of the Second Empire drew to their disastrous close. The new epoch began with a brilliant promise of enlarged usefulness. In 1854, and again in 1855, the returns of distribution ran into six figures. Then, suddenly, the cheering prospect clouded. Not one but every department and method of activity — the business of the depôts, the co-operation of religious organisations, the sales effected through friends and correspondents — was impeded by the adverse forces of the time, some casually antagonistic, others deliberately ranged against the great purpose of the Society. On one occasion the annual circulation sank as low as 74,000 copies.

Nevertheless, 1,644,500 copies of Scripture, including 169,376 distributed at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and 32,896 at the Maritime Exhibition at Havre in 1868, were scattered abroad between 1854 and 1870, and by far the greater part of these fell into the hands of the Roman Catholic population.

For eighty per cent. of the regular distribution M. de Pressensé was dependent on his colporteurs. The number of these, employed for the whole or a part of the year, varied from 60 to 114. As in the past, most of them had once been members of the Church of Rome; many of them had served the Society from ten to twenty years; several had been

soldiers; some had their small farms, to which they returned at the call of the seasons. Devoted men, it is clear, who had been instructed to begin the day with prayer for guidance, for unfailing confidence in the efficacy of God's Word; and who, like St Paul, were "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers"—two, indeed, were drowned while engaged in their duties; a third, attacked on the edge of a forest, was plundered and flung senseless into a ditch; and it was no new thing to be accused on false charges, or to be refused a meal and a night's shelter at the village inn. In 1866 they were travelling in sixty of the eighty-nine Départements of France. Ten of the remaining Départements were cared for by other societies, and measures had been taken by friends in Germany and Switzerland to supply those parts of the country in which no society was yet at work.

As in former years, groups of evangelical believers, which sprang up in the places they visited, testified to the marvellous power of the written Word. Under the oppressive rule of the prefects and mayors, whose action in too many districts was subservient to the hostility of the ecclesiastics, these congregations met for prayer and the study of the Scriptures in barns, in the woods, in the open fields, until, happily, local tyranny was thwarted by an imperial decree which assigned the licensing of Protestant places of worship to the Council of State.

In the great military camps these zealous Biblemen were able to accomplish work of a far-reaching influence. Here and there they were assisted by veterans who treasured the volumes they had received in the Crimea. Hundreds of the conscripts they taught to read—"thirty, forty, and at times even fifty pupils" gathering of an evening in the tents or in the colporteurs' lodgings "to spell out the verses of the New Testament, the only reading-book used." Year by year they sold thousands of copies, so that, as M. de Pressensê

noted, in numbers of houses, both in the towns and villages, the moment a colporteur made his appearance with the Scriptures in his hands, an aged father or mother, or it might be a sister or cousin, at once produced a New Testament received as a present from some soldier in a gallant regiment far away. Austrian prisoners of war sent into France during the Italian campaign were visited, and nearly 6000 Bibles and Testaments were distributed among the regiments embarking at Cherbourg and Toulon on the ill-fated expedition to Mexico.

One unusual colportage incident occurred in the summer of 1863. At some gay watering-place a colporteur saw coming towards him a brilliant group of ladies, among whom one took marked precedence. Her manner was so gracious that the colporteur approached her with the Bible in his hand. She stopped, and, taking the book, opened it in several places, while she graciously listened to his simple and ardent commendation of the Divine Word. "I know the Bible, and appreciate it," she said at length, as she gave him back the volume; "I possess it already, and that is the reason why I do not buy a copy." Then kindly saluting him she passed on with her suite. "This great lady was none other than the Empress."

On the bitter hostility of the clergy, who with few exceptions denounced "the infamous Bible Society of London," it is unnecessary to dwell; but a word must be said of that unscrupulous politico-ecclesiastic party whose cynical tactics made Montalembert "redden to the whites of his eyes and shiver to the ends of his nails." From the moment that the temporal power of the Pope was menaced, the Ultramontanes used every effort to arrest the work of the Society. The Bible was branded as a symbol of anarchy and revolution; faith and morals were ruined by its indiscriminate circulation without the notes and explanations of the Church; the retention of so bad a book, it was declared, afforded

grounds for believing that the possessors were members of a most dangerous political association. The object of the work was to dethrone the Holy Father, to destroy the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, and so to upheave the very bed-rock of society. The colporteurs were described as socialists and revolutionaries in the pay of Protestant nations, men without faith and without law, disturbers of the public peace and a peril to the Government. A striking comment on these charges was the increasing facility with which licences were obtained from the authorities, and the lengthened periods which they covered. In 1866 a commission reported to the Minister of the Interior that, so far from being dangerous, the circulation of the Scriptures had decidedly improved the moral condition of the people. Various obstacles were accordingly removed; and the need for a departmental as well as a central sanction for colportage was set aside. As to the character of the men irresistible testimony was borne, at least on one occasion, when between four and five thousand Roman Catholics attended the funeral of the worthy colporteur Guyot. Curiously enough, one unexpected result of Ultramontane violence was that "in all directions people were buying 'the great Book,' in order to ascertain what God declared respecting the Papacy."

Unhappily, there were antagonists more subtle and elusive than Ultramontanism — luxury and gay materialism and godless indifference, a sceptical and a profligate literature, scoffing infidelity and blasphemous atheism. In the last years of the Empire, when the restrictions on public meetings were relaxed and social problems were discussed in crowded assemblies, the very name of God raised a tempest of passionate execration, and immortality and eternity were scouted as the reliques of an imbecile superstition incompatible with the freedom and happiness of mankind. Nor was it simply in the hearing of the illiterate classes that these manifestations took place; men of science and popular

writers gave them the sanction of their presence, if not of their concurrence. Yet the very intensity of these evils provoked a reaction. Attacks on the divinity of our Lord awakened an interest in His humanity. From the pages of the *Vie de Jésus* people turned expectantly to the Gospel story. "One of our Paris pastors," wrote M. de Pressensé in 1864, "received an invitation from Amiens to preach two sermons on the subject. The Roman Catholic population attended the Protestant chapel in considerable numbers. Among the persons present, who crowded even to the steps of the pulpit, could be seen magistrates, lawyers, officers, representatives in fact of all classes of society, all listening with an extraordinary seriousness to everything that had reference to the person of the Saviour. What thus took place is occurring in every part of France." At last even the walls of Notre Dame rang with a cry strange from the lips of a Dominican, strange from the pulpit of a Romish cathedral. "Leave us our Bible," exclaimed *le Père* Hyacinthe—"leave us our Bible for our children to spell—the Bible which created the printing press, the Bible which civilised Europe. Leave us our Bible, as Frenchmen and as Catholics!"

At this point we may mention three signs of progress—facts easily missed in the mass of details but of marked significance. In 1864 the spirit of inquiry had grown so fearless among Roman Catholics that the circulation of De Sacy's version of the Bible showed a marked decline.[1] In 1865 the Gospel of St Luke and the Book of Psalms were issued in embossed characters for the blind, and M. de Pressensé was authorised to make free grants of the Scriptures to Sunday schools. At the close of 1866 the sale of the whole Bible was equal to one-fourth of the entire circulation in France.

[1] In 1882, when the colporteurs had penetrated into new Roman Catholic districts, the De Sacy version counted for less than six per cent. of their total sales. The De Sacy percentage of the agency's entire sales, including those to religious societies and foreign agencies, was 7.6.

For a moment we must glance at the co-operation of the French and Foreign Bible Society, which materially aided the distribution of the Scriptures among the Protestant portion of the population by its colportage in districts untraversed by the men of the Paris Agency. At the beginning of 1855 it was distributing about 33,000 copies a year, and up to that date had circulated over 445,000 since its foundation in 1833. In 1857-58 its annual issues fell to 17,200; and in response to the appeal of its directors, whose energies were straitened by inadequate means, the London Committee voted a grant of £300, which was followed by one of £500 seven years later. In addition to its specific work, the French and Foreign Bible Society printed a large proportion of the Scriptures required by the Paris Agency.

The Protestant Bible Society of Paris, of which the distinguished historian and statesman, M. Guizot, became president in 1854, co-operated on a restricted scale. For the most part its distribution took the form of presenting the New Testament to candidates for confirmation and the Bible to newly-married couples. In 1859 its yearly circulation amounted to 11,184 copies—the largest number since 1834; and though it still adhered to the Apocrypha, considerably more than half the Bibles which it issued in that year contained only the canonical books. In 1863, after prolonged discussion and grave remonstrances, its committee adopted a version of the Bible "strongly marked by unsound doctrinal sentiments";[1] and a large section of its supporters withdrew and formed a new organisation, the Bible Society of France. In aiding this new venture with a grant of Scriptures to the value of £300, the London Committee endeavoured to induce the seceders to throw in their lot with the French and Foreign Bible Society. Various

[1] This appears to have been the version (prepared by a company of pastors at Geneva) to which Dr Paterson objected in 1836.—*See* vol. ii. p. 204.

difficulties made this course at first impracticable, but in 1865 an amalgamation was happily effected.[1]

A place apart must be given to 1867, the *annus mirabilis* of the Exposition Universelle. Never, probably, since the days of the martyred Huguenots had there been such a sowing of the seed of divine truth as then took place in the French capital. Conspicuous amid that marvellous display of the triumphs of human enterprise, the Word of God, in one hundred and seventy languages, presented its inspired pages to the eyes of men "from every nation under heaven" —swarming multitudes of every rank, class, and colour. In the grounds stood a depôt blazoned with texts in foreign tongues; and a French pastor and five colporteurs moved all day long among the shifting crowds, offering Gospels and Portions. Forty hotels and boarding-houses were supplied with the New Testament; 120,000 Portions were given away among the visitors; 15,000 volumes were placed in the hands of soldiers and sailors; 6000 were circulated among the *sergents de ville* and the Gardes de Paris. No fewer than 1200 priests received the Word of God at the depôt or from the colporteurs. Several missionaries of the Propaganda, about to embark for the East, came for versions in Arabic, Sanskrit, and Chinese; while one venerable *curé* from the provinces asked for and obtained ten Bibles to lend among the people of his parish.

Amongst the high personages who showed their sympathy with the Society's efforts were the Emperor of the French, the Czar Alexander II., the King of Prussia, the Queen of Holland, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and Prince Galitzin, nephew of "the handsome little man with large penetrating eyes"

[1] In 1871 the Committee supplied the Bible Society of France with 4000 Bibles at reduced prices, and on the application of M. Guizot presented the Protestant Bible Society of Paris with 2000 Bibles and 5000 Testaments. Up to its seventeenth anniversary (1881) the former issued 380,000 copies of Scripture. At that date the older society was circulating between 10,000 and 11,000 a year.

who laid the first scheme for a Russian Bible Society before Alexander I. On the 3rd June the Crown Prince spent some time in the depôt, and accepted a copy of the Bible —little foreseeing how soon it was to be his companion on the battle-fields of France. Three days later the Czar escaped the bullet of the assassin Berezowski. A deputation from the Society obtained permission to present his Imperial Majesty with an address of congratulation on his merciful preservation, and were received by him at the Elysée. In making his acknowledgments, the Czar expressed his thanks in a faltering voice, and, laying his hand on his breast, said: "I have always greatly valued the good opinion of England." Mr G. T. Edwards, who had charge of the work at the Exhibition, then presented a copy of *The Bible in Every Land*, and drawing special attention to the specimens it contained of the versions in the languages of Russia, offered his Majesty a Chinese New Testament, as China was conterminous with the frontiers of his vast empire. An episode of some interest to the Czar, and one of which we shall see the sequel later.

There was yet another memorable presentation in connection with this splendid pageant of earthly prosperity. On the 13th December the Earl of Shaftesbury, accompanied by the Rev. S. B. Bergne and M. Vernes, the commissioner for the Missions Section of the Exhibition, was received by the Emperor of the French at St Cloud, and read an address, in which the Committee recorded their grateful appreciation of his Majesty's liberal policy towards Protestants in his dominions, tendered their thanks for the freedom of action granted during the Exhibition, and begged his acceptance of a copy of the Bible, the most valuable token of respect and gratitude in their power to offer. "We pray," they wrote, "that your Majesty may ever find in it true wisdom and strong consolation; so that when all that is fading and fleeting which this world can offer has passed away, you

may have 'a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" With a gracious reference to the Society's labours, the friendly relations of England and France, and the religious freedom which he wished his people to enjoy, the Emperor accepted the book, foreseeing as little as the Crown Prince what the near future would bring forth.

During the seven months the Exhibition was open, 169,376 copies of Scripture were distributed without let or hindrance; "the greatest victory for religious liberty in France for two hundred years," thought Guizot.

Thus, with Ultramontanism making good men redden to the eyes and shiver to the finger-tips, with public meetings execrating the very name of God, with Notre Dame echoing the cry, "Leave us our Bible," these fateful years in the story of the Paris Agency closed with the Franco-Prussian war. While the French courier was speeding to Berlin with the declaration of hostilities, the Sovereign Pontiff, we remember, was proclaiming, amid thunder and lightning, the dogma of his infallibility. That was on the 18th July 1870. Within a week the colporteurs of the German Agency had taken up the enormous task of supplying the Scriptures to the masses of troops sweeping westward to the Rhine. Before we enter on that piece of work, however, let an event of some significance be duly observed.

At Worms, on the 25th June 1868, in the presence of the kings and princes of Germany, of twenty thousand people crowded in the great square, and of nearly as many more in the windows, on the house-tops, among the branches of the summer trees, the Luther Memorial was unveiled. As the canvas fell and showed the Reformer towering over the colossal bronze figures of Waldus and Wycliffe, Huss and Savonarola —his clenched right hand pressing the Holy Bible held in his left, his lips pronouncing the irrevocable protest: "Here stand I: I can do no other; help me, God. Amen"[1]—the

[1] "Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders. Gott helfe mir. Amen."

trumpets pealed out *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, and one impassioned burst of song rose from the vibrating multitude. Neologism, agnostic science, materialistic philosophy, apathy, worldliness seemed to shrivel and perish in that moment of fervent heat. This, at last, was the true heart's cry of the German people, the avowal of the central idea of the Reformation, that the Scriptures were the supreme rule of faith and the indefeasible heritage of every son of Adam. And in that solemn ratification "Protestant England" took part through the message of Queen Victoria to the King of Prussia.

In the place of honour facing the memorial stood the Bible stall of the agency. Those masses of granite and bronze chronicled the past in colossal figures, in medallions, in bas-reliefs; here, on the colporteur's table, was spread open Luther's own book, the great folio Bible which he printed at Wittenberg in 1541; and upon it, so curiously small against its ample page, lay the pocket "pearl" edition issued by the Society. More than one peasant woman touched the old folio of the living Martin Luther, and turned away in tears; and during two days of the celebration 859 volumes of the Scriptures were bought as mementoes of the festival.

On the declaration of war the Committee gave their agents large discretionary powers. Palmer Davies, anticipating their wishes, had already taken the initiative. He was now sole agent for Germany, for Dr Simon had resigned in August 1869, and the resources of Cologne, Frankfort, and Berlin were in a single hand. The presses were working day and night on 200,000 New Testaments and 50,000 extra Portions. The number of colporteurs was doubled, trebled according to requirements. As the heavy trains stopped for a quarter of an hour at this or that station and the troops swarmed out for meat and drink, there were the Men with the Book. The soldiers expected them to be at their post. "Look," said one of a contingent which passed through

Berlin on the first Sunday, "this is a leaf out of an old Bible; no one has come to give us God's Word; this is all we shall march with into battle, and perhaps to death." On Monday there was no dearth of Scriptures. Before three weeks had gone by over 30,000 copies had been sold—Bibles among them, not to take to the war but to be sent to the wife and children, "whom I may not see any more."

Two days after the battle of Wörth (6th August) the colporteurs crossed the frontier, and fourteen of them, on whom the Emperor William afterwards conferred the war medal, were detached for special service in France. Notwithstanding the approval of headquarters and warm commendations in the orders of the day, transport, board, and lodging gave endless trouble and hardship. Once and again the men lay hungry and cold in open sheds, or shared the cold sky with the soldiers round their camp fires; "heaven's police" they came to be called long before the campaign ended. Mr Davies himself, in his energetic supervision of the work, experienced some of the hardships of the march and the bivouac. In July and August he spent twenty-three nights in railway carriages or slept under his rug on loose straw. He was present at the desperate sorties when Bazaine attempted to break through the beleaguering lines around Metz, and for a time on the 1st September he was under fire. He and a companion had taken a cart to bring away some of the wounded. "When the battle seemed to be over," he wrote, "an officer asked us to fetch three wounded men who had been lying for more than twenty-four hours, unbandaged and unattended to, in a village not far off, which the French had succeeded in occupying the day before, and from which they were supposed to have retreated. We took a surgeon with us and set off at once. Scarcely had we entered the village when a *chassepot* ball, evidently aimed at an officer who was walking beside our cart, whizzed within two feet of my head. At the same

instant a company of dragoons came galloping down the street and shouted that the French were in possession. Again the crack of the *chassepots* was heard, and one of the dragoons received a ball in the leg, and his horse two balls in the neck. We took him from his horse upon our cart, hurried back, and were soon covered by the Prussian outposts, who quickly advanced and cleared the village; but we could not rescue the three wounded Prussians."

During the railway deadlock in the neighbourhood of Sedan, Lieutenant Wolff of the Berlin depôt — a swift, resourceful man, with the scars of six wounds received at Sadowa—bought a horse and waggon, lettered the tilt large, "British and Foreign Bible Society, London," flew the red cross on its white ground, and hurried up his stores by way of Belgium; safeguarded his men too with red cross on left arm and broad Bible Society sash across shoulder and breast. With such precautions one may hope to get eventually to Paris! A quaint drawing of the Bible waggon—the Lieutenant's handiwork—appeared in the November number of *The Monthly Reporter* for 1870: the first illustration in the Society's magazines.

On the afternoon of the 1st September Sedan and a dozen villages were burning within the ring of batteries which Moltke had drawn round them. From the hill of Frenois King William sent down a flag of truce with a demand for the surrender of army and fortress, and the envoy was unexpectedly shown into the presence of the Emperor of the French, who at first wished him to convey the famous letter —"N'ayant pas pu mourir à la tête de mes troupes." The Prussian envoy, Lieutenant-Colonel Von Broussart, was the descendant of one of the Huguenot families which fled for refuge to the Great Elector when the Edict of Nantes was revoked; a strange meeting, which suggests a Nemesis watching the transgressions of nations and kings.

A contingent of Biblemen was attached to each of the

advancing armies. They pushed as far north as Amiens, as far west as Versailles, Rouen, Chartres; appeared at well-nigh every stage on the routes of the invasion; "policed" the camps ("heaven's police," as we said); visited the prisoners of war; carried solace to the hospitals and the long trains of railway carriages used as lazarets. Meanwhile, in the Fatherland, in forts, barracks, cantonments of straw huts under the garrison guns, there were prisoners by the ten thousand, and numberless sick and wounded in hospital—all cared for by colporteurs, military chaplains, pastors, lay volunteers, benevolent and evangelical associations. And in Switzerland, too, where Bourbaki and his eighty thousand had been driven across the frontier, 60,000 copies of the Scriptures were circulated among them. Christmas came, and in German homes the children around the Christmas-trees sang "Peace on earth, goodwill to men," but "when they looked about them, their fathers and big brothers were absent, and their mothers and elder sisters were weeping, for of those fathers and brothers some were already dead, others sick and wounded, others exposed to the dangers of war." Far away in wintry fields west of the Rhine, Christmas was kept in camp and hospital. "Christmas-trees were lighted in the sick wards. Rich presents could not be thought of. But nowhere"—(not here, in Orleans, at least, where some 600 Testaments with the Psalter were distributed as the Society's Christmas gift)—"was the best present wanting. There was much joy in reading together the history of the birth of our Lord," and one poor Hessian, whose frost-bitten feet had been amputated and whose hands were crippled, found consolation in the text—"It is better for thee to enter into life halt and maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire."[1]

[1] Infection was not the least of the colporteurs' dangers. When the sick and wounded began to return to Germany senior-colporteur Wick visited the typhus wards in Gotha, was himself stricken down, and died after twenty-one years' service.

The Report for 1872 shows the war circulation from the three German depôts to have amounted to 958,113 volumes (9071 Bibles, 551,924 Testaments, 382,602 Portions, in German, French, Polish, Lithuanian, Hebrew, and Arabic). Of these 196,270 copies were sold among the troops by the colporteurs, and 464,048 were given away by them to the sick, wounded, and prisoners. Through affiliated societies and private persons 283,279 were sold or distributed gratis.

A proposal to offer the New Testament and Psalms, as a memorial of the dead, to their nearest relatives was received in Germany with universal gratitude. Each copy was inscribed with the names of the departed and the recipient, together with the texts, John xi. 25, and Jeremiah xlix. 2. As the Father of the Army, the Kaiser accepted one in memory of all his fallen sons. In all 14,516 of these volumes were given away, and a number of them were publicly presented by pastors on the day that the Oak of Peace was planted in their parishes.[1]

All this war work was warmly appreciated by the Emperor William, who, in a personal interview, received a detailed report from Mr Palmer Davies, and afterwards expressed to him in writing his "thanks for the rich blessing which the Society had diffused among his German warriors."[2]

Out of the distress and entanglement of the French story some particulars must be added. M. de Pressensé was in Switzerland when the war broke out; in sadly

[1] Up to 1873 the number of Memorial Testaments distributed was 15,406.

[2] Besides his usual contribution of £25, the Kaiser gave £45 through Major Westphal towards the distribution of the Scriptures in the Army,—a donation which was continued year by year till his death in 1888; and—all Apocrypha troubles forgotten—the Würtemberg Bible Society, whose resources had been strained by its own exertions, sent a donation of £125 in recognition of the Society's services during the war. Fourteen of the colporteurs, as we have mentioned, were decorated by his Imperial Majesty with the medal and ribbon conferred on non-combatants for valuable and faithful services. They were—Mr Beringer of the Frankfort depôt, Mr Henry Hieronimus (an unpaid volunteer), and senior-colporteur Weiser, leaders of the band; and colporteurs Boehme, Erhardt (driver of the Bible waggon), Fischer, Gross (a volunteer), Héry, Horn, Kühn, Lutz, Nagott, Pieper, and Wettig.

failing health, an old man now, in his seventy-fourth year; had indeed arranged for his retirement, and was but awaiting a successor. He returned at once to Paris; planned with his old skill and promptitude for the huge task before him; got depôts opened in suitable places; had twelve colporteurs at the front early in August. Breton Scriptures were prepared for the men of Morbihan and Finistère; Arabic for the Turcos. Large grants were made to various organisations—the Alsace Committee for relief of sick and wounded, the Geneva Evangelical Society, the Protestant Association of Paris with its ambulances and staff of chaplains, deaconesses, and Scripture-readers. Then the rush of German victories flung all into confusion, hopeless chaotic welter of marching and countermarching, congested railways, dislocated postal system. Colporteurs were cut off from books and letters, shut up in Metz or some other stronghold, scattered out of knowledge. The Committee hurried 30,000 Ostervald Testaments through the press in London, despatched them to zealous friends at Dunkirk, Boulogne, Marseilles, Lyons; and they distributed them with such efficiency as was practicable, and not without affecting incidents, had one the space to tell them.

Before M. de Pressensé left Paris, he had sent out 150,000 copies for war use alone. During September, October, and November, over 58,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions were circulated in the besieged capital and its suburbs. It was only a few days before the city was invested that the old man was persuaded by his widowed daughter to accompany her to some place of safety. Ever intent on his responsibilities, he fixed eventually on Tours as the fittest centre for his colporteurs. At the beginning of November he reckoned there were still some forty afield. Possibly there were fewer, for the old soldiers were called back to the colours. Brave, patient souls—what a time they

had of it!—shut up in Metz, back once more in the ranks or on the ramparts, threatened as spies by the wild mobs, arrested as spies (five times, one of them), led in chains through the streets, thrown into freezing cells without food or covering.

M. de Pressensé's last letter to the Committee was written on the 26th December (the Christmas-trees all standing green, full of memories, in hospital wards here in France, far away yonder in German homes). He had gone out to the great bridge over the Loire on the morning of the 21st, and found himself a dozen paces from a squadron of Prussian cuirassiers, riding in to take possession of Tours. The mob flung themselves on these troopers, emptied three saddles with four shots; whereupon the cuirassiers galloped back, and the guns opened fire. "Shells began to fall in all directions, one a few steps from where I was standing." The old man escaped unhurt, but his nervous system was shattered. He finished his letter, and fell ill in the evening. Delirium supervened (with eager talk of old Bible days and work), and it was only occasionally that he was aware of his condition; but these lucid intervals were marked by a calm submission and a fixed trust in Christ. On the morning of the 4th January 1871, in his seventy-fifth year, he was released from his sufferings.

When the Lord Mayor's Commission went to the relief of Paris, George Moore took charge of 10,000 French Gospels, a large proportion of which were given to the sick and wounded, and the rest sent to the depôt for the use of the colporteurs.[1] Including the war issues, the total

[1] A glimpse here of the *Commune* as George Moore saw it:—Belleville broken loose; churches looted; Tuileries burnt down; generals captured and shot; Archbishop Darboy and numerous priests imprisoned (shot, too, later); the dying deprived of the last offices of religion, though on one occasion an *abbé* was admitted to a prison, his permit stating, "He says he is the servant *d'un nommé Dieu*"—servant of "a certain 'God,'" not known to us. On Thanksgiving Day, for the recovery of the Prince of Wales (27th February 1872), when two millions of people gathered along seven

French distribution during the year numbered 472,353 copies, of which 369,280 were Portions. Up to the close of 1873, 5178 Testaments and Psalters were presented to widows and bereaved mothers. Seven years afterwards it was found that in villages among the Vosges Mountains the poorest children were using as school-books — the *commune* being unable to afford other "readers" — these memorial Testaments inscribed with the names of the men who had died for France.

The total distribution to the contending armies considerably exceeded 1,000,000 copies and cost the Society £20,000.

We have now reached the final scene in the stupendous drama. In August 1870, as we have seen, the French garrison was withdrawn from Rome. On the fall of the Second Empire Victor Emmanuel was released from his pledge to respect and defend the territory of the Church, and advanced on the capital. Six colporteurs—all converts from Romanism, one a ten-years' exile — accompanied the Italian army. The guns forced an entrance on the 20th September; and as Cadorna's troops poured through the breach, Frandini carried the Bible into the Eternal City. Four other colporteurs entered with the column which marched through the Porta Pia, and with them a great shaggy-coated Abruzzo dog dragging its cart-load of Scriptures. Mr Bruce arrived on the 22nd; on that date ten years ago he had begun the public sale of the Bible in Naples. Three days later, the first Sunday, he and his colporteurs ascended to the upper tiers of the Coliseum; and, overlooking the arena which had been drenched with the blood of martyrs, they read the account of St Paul's journey to Rome, and he addressed them on a passage from the Epistle to the Romans.

miles of streets, these horrors recurred to George Moore: "The difference of the two scenes a perfect marvel to me. I attribute it a good deal to the fact that in our beloved country we read and love the Bible."— Smiles, *Life of George Moore*, p. 367.

The circulation of the Scriptures was suspended until the plebiscite on the question of union had been taken. It was resumed on the 13th October. By a vote practically unanimous, "the Patrimony of St Peter" had been annexed to the kingdom of Italy,[1] and the temporal power of the Pope had passed away for ever. Three months had not yet elapsed since his Holiness had proclaimed his infallibility. "This was the answer of Divine Providence to the decree of July 18."[2]

[1] Result of the plebiscite: 133,681 for union; 1507 against; 22,360 did not vote.
[2] Baring-Gould, *The Church in Germany*, p. 382.

CHAPTER X

IN ITALY FREE

THE temporal power had been abolished. From the Alpine snows to the blue waters of Pantellaria the Bible was free. In Rome the National Guard had taken the oath of allegiance, no longer on the Crucifix, but on the Latin Vulgate and the Hebrew Old Testament.[1] In Rome the Gospel of St Mark and the Epistles of St Peter had been printed; a Bible stall had been planted under the "marvellous column" of Trajan; a depôt, with its monitory scroll, "Search the Scriptures," had been opened in the Corso. Cardinal Antonelli's wrathful protest against Scripture distribution, as "an atrocious assault on the religion of the State such as no country in Europe would tolerate," had passed unheeded. In February 1872 a crowded Roman audience had beheld the amazing spectacle of a public controversy (sanctioned by his Holiness—for the first and last time),[2] in which three priests, equipped with the works of the Fathers, and three Evangelical ministers, Bible in hand, argued the question whether St Peter ever was in Rome. A few weeks later—4th March 1872—an Italian Bible Society had been founded in the Eternal City. Priestly censure still inspired fear, and the only available place of meeting

[1] In the spring of 1872 the Italian Bible took the place of the Vulgate.

[2] Cardinal de Dominicis Tosti and Prince Chigi presided on the Papal side. The effect of the discussion was extraordinary. One newspaper alone issued six editions of the report of the proceedings, and three thousand copies of the authorised account were sold in a single week. The Evangelical challenge on the question of the supremacy of St Peter was declined, and no answer was made to Gavazzi's lectures on the subject.

had been the hall of the Argentine Theatre, owned by a Jew, which could seat no more than a tenth of the six thousand persons who crowded for admission.[1] In that hushed assembly Père Hyacinthe, still clothed in the habit of St Dominic, had touched a chord which vibrated in many hearts. His presence, he had said, was not to be taken for complete acquiescence in the programme of the Society; but there at least, united in the city which had been the cause of their separation, they were bound together by a common tie: they were all children of the Bible. "But we are fallen," he had exclaimed, "divided, powerless. Let us retrieve our position by that book, for it is the Word and the Power of God. . . . Protestants have not always read it thoroughly, and Catholics have never read it enough. . . . Yes, the real basis of the British Constitution is not Magna Charta, but something more durable, namely, the Bible. If Italy is to stand, you must lay the same foundation. If she does not bring religion to Rome—if she comes with nothing in her hand but scepticism and political expediency, the city will become her tomb."

Yet in spite of these auspicious events, there were no signs of the great awakening which so many had expected as the immediate result of religious liberty. On the contrary, the evangelisation of Italy became ever more clearly a complex problem which patient perseverance and simple dependence on the divine promises alone could solve. The "secular sword" of the Church had been broken, but the spiritual power of the priesthood remained intact. Religious freedom had been secured, but for tens of thousands it meant freedom from all religious restraint.

[1] Admiral Fishbourne was appointed president. The audience included the Duke and Duchess of Nassau with their suite, Signor Mamiani, one of the Senators, Signor Gavazzi, Mr Bruce, the agent of the Bible Society, many English and Americans, and "very many Romans of various grades, who came with great enthusiasm to hail this fresh proof that they were really delivered from the spiritual tyranny of the Papal yoke." The Committee aided the Italian Bible Society as opportunity offered, but it was considered the best course that it should establish itself as an independent national organisation.

"We have broken the chains of one despotism, and here you come with another." "We do not believe in our own religion, and you want us to have a new one." From year to year throughout the period the Reports recorded the same experience of ecclesiastical intolerance, of indifference among masses of the population, of inability except in rare instances to awaken interest among the noble, the wealthy, the educated. For how little the Bible counted in Italian literature may be gathered from the reference of the *Unità Cattolica* to the cry of "*Lazarus* to Abraham" afar off, and the quotation, on the memorial chapel at Solferino, of a verse from the "Epistle of St John the Apostle to the Corinthians."

A widespread illiteracy, more prevalent in the south than in the north, baffled the exertions of the colporteurs. In various cities indeed a remarkable improvement was taking place; schools were springing up in connection with missionary effort; and the Government had prescribed a system of elementary education. But the law was too often evaded or ignored by the very authorities appointed to carry it in effect. As late as 1881, among the young people of both sexes between twelve and eighteen years of age, the percentage of illiterates in fourteen of the chief provincial towns in Southern Italy ranged from fifty-one to eighty-two. In Basilicata there were said to be ladies of title, possessed of large estates, to whom the alphabet was an uncanny mystery; and scarcely one in ten of the young men drafted into the army were able to write. The army itself was a great national school. The period of service was less than three years, but some proficiency in reading and writing was a condition of discharge. It was in this constant succession of young men from every province that the colporteurs sought the surest means of sowing the Word of Life in the most remote nooks of the kingdom.

In the Universities, where one might have hoped for

better things, the chairs were being filled with agnostics and infidels; yet even in these evil conditions there were earnest students who disguised their love of the Scriptures under a desire to acquire some foreign tongue. From time to time thoughtful men discussed the question of religion in the public journals, but they had not heard or had not heeded the warning of the Dominican—they had not learnt the value of the Divine Book, which alone can exalt a nation, consolidate its liberties, and render its people virtuous and happy.

To two special difficulties a brief reference must be made. The opening of Rome quickened the hearts of many good men and women to acts of generosity which were as well-intentioned as they were ill-advised. A lively faith in the efficacy of the Scriptures, somewhat marred, perhaps, by a lack of humility, prompted them to make light of the safeguards which a long experience had proved to be indispensable. Thousands of free copies of the sacred books were scattered with an indiscriminate fervour among people who did not want them, who regarded them with suspicion, whose indifference was provoked by this meddlesome solicitude into positive aversion. One heard of cartloads of Scriptures sent into the military camps, and of 300 francs' worth buried in a ditch. The pages of a volume torn up at the Naples Exhibition did indeed lead one soul to Christ, but, broadly speaking, these indiscreet distributions exposed the Word of God to dishonour, hindered the work of the colporteurs ("In Rome the native population, the *Romani di Roma*, as they proudly style themselves, will not buy the Bible at any price, and seldom consent to take it as a present"), and defeated the very object they were meant to further.

The concentration in Rome of many systems of Reformed Christianity was no doubt inevitable, but, unhappily, the independence of their teaching and the diversities of their

worship did not tend to attract men, "who thought they cast no reflection on their forefathers by becoming atheists, but imagined they would greatly dishonour them by becoming Protestants." Mr Bruce spared no efforts to harmonise the operations of the various Churches, and in time a desire for unity of method and concerted action began to take effect. These denominational differences, however, accentuated the need for the work of the Society, whose purpose was not to make men Free Church or Waldensian, but to lead them "to the broad open table-land of the New Testament, from which all the ravines came down."

It was, then, almost wholly among the working-classes, artisans in the towns, labouring folk in country places, soldiers in camp and garrison, sailors and the tens of thousands of emigrants in the sea-ports that the Word of God was received gladly. Notwithstanding the prevailing illiteracy there was not a village in Apulia in 1876 wherein you would not have found at least one diligent reader of the Bible, and two years later a little church of twenty-two communicants was formed in the very heart of that province. In many parts of Calabria, too, the people were waiting for the evangelist and the pastor. The books were condemned, torn up, and burnt by the priests; the colporteurs were denounced as free-thinkers, revolutionaries, enemies of religion; but the men of faith went on their way, strong in prayer, and in many small towns, and especially in country districts, were warmly received by the prefects and *delegatos*. In the far north, where education was more advanced, the sale of the Scriptures was large, considering the condition of the inhabitants. Among the hills of Friuli on a winter night families might have been seen gathered in the stable for warmth, with a Bibleman reading the New Testament to them as they span until midnight. "And all would have bought, had not the bad harvest and the early exhaustion of their chestnut flour reduced them to great poverty." It

was the same in Tuscany — men, women, and children nestled among the straw, spinning flax, sewing, knitting; all listening in silence or asking questions when the reading ceased.

In the Italian valleys of the Grisons, in Tessino, in the Rivieras, in the fruitful plains of Lombardy, ravaged alas! by the terrible *pellagra*, the colporteurs were constantly coming and going. Along the Adriatic shore, where evangelistic work was suspended for a time, they alone scattered the seed of the Gospel. The ruinous inundations in the valley of the Po in 1872, 1879, and 1882, the destructive eruption of Ætna in 1879, the Exhibition at Milan in 1881, at which 15,000 Portions were sold, were all made occasions for special efforts. In Sicily three colporteurs, besides two men of the Scottish Bible Society, were extending the work in 1883, and a sub-depôt was open at Palermo. Corsica belonged to the French Agency, but occasional assistance was given from Italy, and in 1877 and the following year an old and experienced colporteur traversed the island with considerable success, though his life was threatened if he entered certain villages. Progress was made even in benighted Sardinia. At one time in 1876 "a policeman almost insisted on sending a herald to cry through the streets '*Viva la libertà! Viva l'Evangelio!* the Gospel in our own tongue has come—make haste to buy it!'" But of the very faith in which the people had been reared there was sometimes found an almost incredible ignorance. In consequence of the fierce hostility of the clergy little could be accomplished in the islands off the Neapolitan coast; but in 1883, a fortnight after the disastrous earthquake which destroyed Casamicciola and a number of villages, a colporteur and an evangelist landed in Ischia. At the scene of the catastrophe, in which nearly two thousand lives had been lost, they administered spiritual consolation and material aid. Several of the soldiers searching for the dead among tumbled walls, charred timbers,

uprooted trees, belonged to the Military Church in Rome, and for three Sundays crowded services were held. Nearly 900 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions were sold during the visit. "The terrors of the sternest pages of the Old Testament had been followed by the gentle grace of the New: 'the earthquake, and after the earthquake the fire, and after the fire the still, small Voice.'"

We may now turn to a series of events which marked the course of the Italian Agency.

At the beginning of 1872 the books of Isaiah and the Psalms in Hebrew and Italian were in circulation among the Jewish people, of whom there were about 40,000 in the peninsula. Under Pope Pius IX. they had suffered less than in the days of his predecessors, but the common rights of citizenship had been withheld, and the Hebrew Scriptures were denied a free circulation.

In 1873, 10,000 copies of Diodati's New Testament issued from the press. Twenty-three years had gone by since the Society's first edition was bought up by the Sovereign Pontiff on his return from Gaeta. An edition of 5000 copies—for which the Committee provided paper—was also printed by the Italian Bible Society. In the same year the Earl of Chichester presided, and George T. Edwards was the deputation, at "the first public meeting held for the British and Foreign Bible Society in sight of St Peter's."[1]

The first English Protestant church was opened on the 26th October 1874.

In 1875 the Holy Father himself drew the attention of the Lent preachers to the progress which the cause had made. "I cannot but feel grieved," he said, "at seeing within the very walls where rise the majestic temples of the Christian religion halls and congregations start up by their side where men pretend to worship God by heresy, which is a rebellion against Him."

[1] During Edwards's visit in 1869 a private meeting was held, and in the following annual report appeared the first free contributions from friends in Rome.

In 1876 the Rev. W. Dickens Lewis attended the first public Bible Society gathering *within the walls* of Rome. From this time onward the capital and chief cities of Italy were included in the foreign tours undertaken by the District-secretaries. In the course of the year the book of Proverbs was issued as a penny Portion, and the Italian Bible was published at a lira.

The year 1876 closed an epoch in Italian history. Victor Emmanuel died on the 9th January; Pope Pius IX. on the 7th February. King Humbert accepted a copy of the Bible from the Italian Bible Society, and in thanking a deputation of Protestant pastors and laymen for their congratulatory address on his escape from assassination, expressed his good wishes for the work in which they were engaged. On the 20th February the white-and-yellow flag with the cross-keys and tiara floated from the Vatican: Cardinal Pecci had been elected to the throne of St Peter. The new Pope, Leo XIII., issued an encyclical on the evils that afflicted society, their causes, and their remedies. The chief evil he found to be rebellion against the Papacy; its chief cause religious liberty; its chief cure, the restoration of the temporal power; and an anathema was hurled against all who attended Evangelical services or schools, helped to erect Protestant places of worship, or circulated books prohibited by the Church.

When the triple crown was first placed on the brow of Pius IX., there was no part of Italy into which the Sacred Scriptures could be introduced, except by stealth and subterfuge, and Bible-reading was a crime to be expiated by long and bitter imprisonment. In 1850 his Holiness had warned the faithful against the "poisonous reading" furnished by the Bible Societies, and condemned "the modern art of printing." In the year in which he died over 50,000 copies of the Word of God were distributed; and in Rome alone there were thirteen churches or halls,

including the Italian Military Chapel, in which the Gospel was preached, while other agencies for the benefit of both Jew and Gentile were in active operation.

In May 1881 Thomas Humble Bruce died in his sixty-seventh year — a loss not more deeply regretted by the Committee than by the men who had worked under him, some for over twenty years; "our father; my father; he loved us with a true heart." "He was always rather an invalid," wrote one who had known him during his long residence in Italy, "but I never heard a complaint escape his lips." To the last he was an alert and busy spirit. As he sat up in bed, the day before he passed away, a friend offered to assist him in writing to the Committee; but his voice was failing; "I can write," he said, "more easily than speak." Even on the day of his death, he awoke from a spell of sleep with the words, "Now it is time to work!" On the evening of the 26th May he was laid to rest among the violets and dark cypresses of the Protestant cemetery, skirting the road by which St Paul was led out of Rome to his martyrdom; and by his grave Signor Mazzarella, a member of the Italian Parliament, spoke of his twenty years' labour and of that liberty which had dawned for Italy not in a constitution given by man but in the Gospel.

The work of the agency was conducted by his son-in-law Mr Lowe until August, when the Rev. Augusto Meille succeeded. It was pleasant to remember that some fifteen years earlier Signor Meille's name had appeared in the Reports; at Turin he had boldly interposed and procured bail for a colporteur who, "under the usual plea of protection," had been taken by the police and detained in prison. He had learned English as a theological student in Edinburgh, had been pastor of the church attached to the Waldensian School of Theology in Florence, and at the time of his appointment was the Italian representative of the Religious

Tract Society, which obligingly waived its claims on his service.

In October 1882 the depôt in the Corso—which had been guarded for many a day by the great Abruzzo dog, all gentleness and shaggy strength — was transferred to the Piazza di Spagna; not before its stock of Hebrew Bibles, as Meille noted, had been exhausted by the priests from the college of the Propaganda, that ruthless tribunal whose persecutions had once struck terror into the Waldensian valleys in which he was born. At other depôts besides that of Rome, the Scriptures which were branded as false and corrupted, were readily bought by the priests in the original Greek and Hebrew.

In 1883 Signor Meille laid before the Committee a graphic review of the religious condition of Italy. A quarter of a century had given a certain amount of worldly prosperity, but the country seemed to be drifting further and further from God and truth:—

"The great majority of the professors in our seventeen Universities are rationalists and materialists of the worst type. . . . Our literature is infidel. . . . The very worst novels and books published by the scurrilous writers of Paris are immediately translated and largely read by men and women alike. Infidelity is spreading among the lower classes not only in the town but also in the country districts. . . . I am assured that in certain towns of Romagna nine funerals out of ten are performed without any religious rites whatever . . . and that in Western Tuscany there is scarcely a village without its club of Freethinkers. . . . It cannot be denied that many hopes have remained unfulfilled, that the masses are not turning to the Gospel, and that the Italian Protestants form only an imperceptible minority in the nation."

Depressing as the picture seemed to be, the writer perceived no signs of discouragement. "Wherever I go I can see that the little scattered churches are growing in number and activity, especially in the north." In 178 towns, from the Alps to Sicily, the banner of the Gospel had been planted, and the workers of all kinds, pastors, evangelists, teachers, colporteurs, numbered 423 persons.

To sum up the labours of the Society :—In March 1884 its annual circulation had grown to 63,000 copies. Its depôts were the armories of all the denominations and societies in the field. Its colporteurs, travelling over wide and unvisited tracts of country, were as one in ten of all the Protestant workers in Italy. Year by year their number had grown from twenty-six to forty-five—picked men, not easily found, patient, gentle, resourceful, prayerful, their lips touched with a live coal from the altar. One had nearly completed his quarter of a century of Bible-work ; eighteen had served over ten years, six over twenty-one.

The work of distribution from 1854 to 1884 may be set forth as follows :—

Lieutenant Graydon,	1854-60	. . .	74,002	copies of Scripture.
Mr Bruce,	1860-81	. . .	811,428	,, ,, ,,
Signor Meille,	1881-84	. . .	192,026	,, ,, ,,
			1,077,456	,, ,, ,,

CHAPTER XI

REPUBLICAN FRANCE

We return to France. In the stormy and distracted time which followed the death of M. de Pressensé staunch friends were not wanting. The colportage arrangements were taken in hand by his nephew, M. Meyrueis ; the work of distribution was largely supplemented by means of grants committed to individuals and benevolent associations ; and Mr Kirkpatrick, the agent for Belgium, made a tour through the south of France to ascertain the exact position of the Society's affairs. The vacancy was filled in December 1871 by the appointment of M. Gustave Monod, who belonged to a well-known family of French Protestants.

Gifted with considerable administrative ability, M. Monod threw himself into the business of the agency with the energy and initiative of a man in the prime of life. During his first five years in office he travelled some 22,000 miles—a distance about eight-and-twenty times the entire length of France ; met nearly every Evangelical minister in the country ; enlisted fresh sympathy and co-operation ; opened depôts under the care of pastors and hotel-keepers, and — most important detail of all, perhaps—gathered together little groups of his men for discussion and mutual encouragement. Colportage in restricted local areas was exchanged for tours which took the men from their families for fifteen or twenty days together ; and gradually he introduced the plan of engaging a larger number of men for a part of their time in preference to taking the whole time of a smaller number. During a tour in the

south in 1878, with the aid of Pastor Moulines, Professor Sabatier and M. Westphal Castelnau, he made the first experiment in a project for the formation of local colportage committees, which should examine and recommend candidates, direct the movements of the men in their districts, and advise generally on local matters.

These changes soon produced noticeable results. In 1873-74, when there were 55 colporteurs employed by the agency, only 35 of the 86 Départements were touched by them. There were 15 other Départements in which depôts were open and the men of the Geneva Evangelical Society were at work. In yet 29 others there were 132 Protestant churches, several of which had sprung up from the simple reading of the Scriptures distributed, many years before, by the earlier Biblemen of the agency. Still, there were seven Départements, with a population of over 2,000,000, which no colporteurs visited, in which no Protestant pastor or congregation was to be found; and in two of these, the Corrèze and the Cantal, three-fourths of the people were unable to read. Ten years later, the 69 colporteurs sent out by the agency were traversing every one of the Départements; the Word of God was accessible in 64 depôts—small, it is true, with the exception of those at Cannes and Marseilles, but all of them frequently advertised in the newspapers read by Roman Catholics, and several held by reputable Roman Catholic booksellers whose names were published as depositaries of *La Sainte Bible*.

Amid the numberless details of a great agency Monod found time to translate into French the beautiful story of *Mary Jones and Her Bible*, and the little volume was issued in 1883 by the Toulouse Society for the Publication of Religious Books.

Years of impotent hatred, of angry sorrow for the lost, of furious revolt against all religious restraint, of reckless demoralisation, of embittered poverty and heavy taxation

were those which immediately followed the war. Here and there, indeed, the breath of the Divine Spirit seemed to be kindling a new life—"a little fire in a wild field"; but the mass of the population sullenly resented the discipline of Providence. Many old difficulties were again encountered in pursuing the Society's work. In Paris the law against street colportage was rigorously enforced by the police; the *concierges* prevented access to private houses; to offer the Scriptures the men had to seek the places of resort frequented by various classes in the evenings. Entrance to barracks, forts, camps was forbidden. The officers might be met with at their *cafés*; the rank-and-file were to be found only at the wine-stores, which were often places of the lowest description. On the contrary, among the German garrisons, so long as the occupation lasted, the colporteur was a welcome visitor with what the French *bourgeois* vilified as "a Prussian book." A reversion was made to the old departmental system of authorisation. After MacMahon's election to the Presidency the functionaries throughout France were immediately changed, and everywhere old Imperialists were put in. In a large measure Ultramontane intolerance regained its ascendancy, and applicants for colportage licences were exposed to the most arbitrary treatment. For three years the colporteurs were excluded from Lyons and the Département du Rhône without any assigned reason.

On the formation of the Royalist and Imperial "Ministry of May 16," 1877, all colportage licences were revoked by an edict aimed at the Opposition journals, and considerable time and money were wasted in making fresh applications. Happily, these annoyances were to have a speedy end. At the general election in the autumn the country declared itself republican by an irresistible majority; reactionary prefects resigned or were removed; the restrictions on the press were withdrawn; and all who were engaged in the

evangelisation of France enjoyed an unembarrassed liberty of action. Finally, by the law of 27th July 1881, an "authorisation" was no longer required for colportage. It sufficed that the man declared his intention to sell the Scriptures, and he was entitled to receive a written acknowledgment of his declaration.[1]

If ecclesiastical hostility took many forms, the Church of Rome paid at least one tribute to the work of the Society, and in a measure contributed to the furtherance of its purpose. As early as 1870 fifty-five French and foreign prelates signed a remarkable address to the Holy See. They referred to their "keen affliction in seeing the alarming extent to which Protestants were supplying Catholic families with the Bible—thus lowering the holy faith in their eyes, and attracting their children to Protestant schools." "Nothing in these days," they declared, "could prevent the reading of the whole Bible among the laity," and they besought his Holiness to sanction the publication of Abbé Glaire's version,[2] which would "deprive Protestants of all pretext for unjustly charging the Catholic Church with hindering the faithful from reading the Word of God." In January 1873 the papal authorisation was granted, and in due course the complete Bible appeared in four volumes at a cost of ten francs. A scholarly translation from the Vulgate, safeguarded with customary notes, it was just such a version as the Hohenzollern Bible which, a few years before, had drawn together the little church in the heart of Swabia.

The relaxation in regard to colportage occurred opportunely on the eve of the Paris Exhibition of 1878. Permits were readily granted for the provincial men whose help was needed, and extreme courtesy and kindness were shown by

[1] One of the brightest avenues into the future was still barred. The budget for the Paris schools, which in 1870 had been 6,000,000 francs, was now 18,000,000, but in all the schools the Bible was prohibited.

[2] The Abbé's New Testament was issued as far back as 1861.

all engaged in carrying out the police regulations. An application (made under the Ultramontane *régime*) for leave to erect a Bible kiosk in the Exhibition grounds had been refused, but a châlet had been built on a neighbouring plot of freehold land bought for the purpose, and in the British section a position was obtained for a show-case containing a complete collection of the Society's versions in 250 volumes and 216 languages. By a strange inconsistency, while articles of all kinds might be purchased in the Exhibition, the sale of the Scriptures was forbidden; and a bronze medal was the frugal acknowledgment of an exhibit which testified to the highest linguistic achievement and to three-quarters of a century dedicated to the civilisation of the human race.

The event was not marked by any of the salient incidents of the Exhibition of 1867, but 1716 copies of the Word of God were sold, and 406,664—mostly Portions—were given away. The immediate result was seen in an increased demand for Bibles and Testaments from the colporteurs; and in after years there was evidence that that large distribution was bearing fruit.

But the outstanding event of 1878 was the strong anti-clerical reaction, which seemed to be disposing the minds of men to a consideration of the Gospel. In the Département of the Creuse, at one time fanatically Ultramontane, theatres were thrown open to evangelical pastors and laymen. The religious question and its Protestant solution had become of vital interest to many who had ceased to believe in Rome, but who feared that in forsaking their old Church they might lose hold on all religion. In ten Départements a remarkable movement towards Protestantism became apparent, and halls could scarcely be found large enough to contain the crowds that flocked to these spiritual "conferences." What urgent need there was then in France for tongues as of fire and the rushing of a mighty wind was

vividly traced by the Abbé Bougaud in his picture of the life of a priest in the sterile solitude of a rural district:—

"He arrives in the parish the bishop has assigned him, young, and in all the ardour of faith and zeal. What does he find there? . . . In this little parish ravaged by indifference, he finds nothing. He has quitted all in order to serve souls; he calls them and he does not find them. In the morning when he has said the Holy Mass he has before him a long day and nothing to do. And one day follows another and all are alike, and thus weeks pass and months. . . . And not only solitude, but mistrust, suspicion, odious suspicion. Souls do not come to him; he would wish to go to them, and he dare not. He seldom leaves his cure, and he does well, for all his movements are secretly watched. His very devotion is made a crime. I asked a young priest one day how he got on in his little parish. 'In the week,' he said, 'tolerably. But on Sunday it is frightful. I arrive at Mass. I find there about thirty women, two or three men. What to say to them? I could rather weep than speak. At vespers, no one. I shut myself up all the evening in my presbytery; but I cannot so shut myself up, so bury myself, but what I hear the songs of the men who brutalise themselves at the public-house, and the violin accompanying the dances which lead away the women and girls. It is heart-rending.'"[1]

Unhappily Protestantism itself, smitten with the blight of materialism, presented its own dark picture. In the Lozère, with its many so-called Protestant churches, there were pastors who denied the divinity of our Lord and the resurrection of the dead, and who cried for deliverance from "this double scourge of Paulinism and Bibliolatry." In places in the Lot et Garonne, where Reformed congregations were strongest, distribution among Roman Catholics was checked by the scorn of Protestants who paraded their unbelief in "the old-fashioned book." In towns in the Pas de Calais, where one looked for prosperous Bible-work among the numerous English residents, the colporteur who expected "to find a friend in every Protestant was soon undeceived."

How welcome, then, were these tokens of a visitation of the Spirit of Light! In 1879 evangelical services were allowed in the Château of Versailles, in which the Edict of

[1] Bougaud, *Le Grand Péril de l'Eglise de France*, 1878, pp. 28-29.

Nantes had been revoked by Louis XIV. nearly two centuries before; regular conferences were held several days a week in all the large cities; in a great number of smaller towns the theatres and town halls were thronged; and again in 1880 the same intense interest in the work of evangelisation was manifested. What was the secret of this stirring of the heart among the people of France? It was not the appeal of the evangelist and the preacher: these were only sent when they were asked for; it was the awakening of the seed of the Divine Word which the colporteur, uninvited and unknown, had scattered in silence and hope during bygone years.

A word about these devoted men. In 1873 we have a glimpse of the veteran of the corps—the silver-haired Dehon, hale and vigorous in his eightieth year. He had been the youngest of nine brothers. Eight of them had joined the colours under Napoleon, but this Benjamin his father could not spare; longed to have him a priest, and sent him to the Petit Séminaire of Meaux. Through Meaux, when the lad was seventeen, came marching the 12th Regiment, with the eldest of the brothers as Captain. The seminarist was taken out to dinner, and that same evening threw off his cassock, enlisted, and was away to the wars. This was in 1810. Four of the brothers were killed before Waterloo; on that blood-stained field three more perished, but he escaped; and the Captain fell in Spain. In 1828 Dehon was *garde-champêtre* and secretary to the mayoralty of Fluy in the Somme. There he found his Saviour while reading some tracts left on a table in an *auberge*; brought crowds to the revival preaching in the Somme in 1835; and in 1837 shouldered the book-box of the colporteur. In 1874 he was yet afield; in 1875 he took to his bed, and at the foot of it hung his box, "like the harp upon the willows"; in 1876, all the fire of life quenched save in his patient eyes, he lay speechlessly waiting the Master's call. *Requiescat!*

Beside this octogenarian the oldest of his colleagues seem young—Audéoud, sixty-seven, who has served seventeen years; Rabel, sixty-seven, who has served six-and-twenty, and will shortly retire to take charge of a small depôt at Havre; Laffargue, sixty-four, who has served thirty-eight, and will live to celebrate his jubilee as a Bibleman in 1889.

They were regarded at the best as humble workers, but some of them were men of standing among their own people. Anastay was a *maire* in the Vaucluse when he became a colporteur. He was prepared for sacrifices, but was persuaded to retain his office. The great majority of his constituents were Roman Catholics, but he was twice unanimously re-elected to his old position. In the Basses Pyrénees Bernata, who for many summers was engaged by Miss Beamish, Miss Yorke, and other friends to visit the shepherds among the mountains, had a small farm of his own and was returned to the municipal council. Even in the mean streets of Paris the high character of the colporteur won respect and affection. "When Carl lost his wife (in 1879) his neighbours, all Roman Catholics as poor as himself, made a collection for a beautiful wreath to place on his wife's grave, and gave him forty-one francs to meet his extra expenses." The piety of Bolloch was long remembered in Finistère. "We all called him 'the Pagan,'" said the hostess of the inn at Pont Croix. "One evening, long after he had retired, and when I thought he was asleep, I went to his room to get something, and there I found my pagan on his knees, praying. Great was my surprise, knowing how tired he was. I have seen many travellers, but never one on his knees. This one must have been a saint."

As one thinks of these sowers of the Word, numberless scenes light up in the memory. Now it is a village in the Aveyron. Old Laffargue finds a Bible or a Testament in every house, and meets a shepherdess who is never without her Testament, which she reads to her companions while the

flocks graze. Now it is the port of Marseilles—discouraging Marseilles, where so little was accomplished until a new depôt was opened in 1880[1]—and Tourn boards a Swedish ship, sees no one on deck, but hears a far-away sound of singing. Captain and crew are in the cabin. They had learned Sankey's hymns in Liverpool. Never a day that they do not join in praise, and read a chapter of the Bible together. Tourn can send a keen truth home, when need be. On one occasion a man refused the Bible because "it was an immoral book." "Have you read it?" "Certainly not!" "Well, if it had been an immoral book you would doubtless have read it long ago."

Or it is the region of the disastrous inundations of June 1875. Leagues of ravage along the flooded river valleys; hundreds of lives lost. The Lot et Garonne districts are left to the sympathy of the Scottish Bible Society; but among the sufferers in the Upper Garonne, the Upper Hérault, the Tarn, and the Tarn et Garonne, Terrier, Lance, and another are at work. Four thousand five hundred copies of the New Testament, appropriately inscribed, are distributed as a gift, and gladly received; and even in this time of dearth sufficient is collected by the people to purchase 700 volumes. Or now it may be a churchyard in the Jura; and a child's coffin lies beside an open grave. The *curé* does not come, and Terrier is asked to offer up a prayer. He prays in simple French, which all may understand and feel. How much better than the Latin!—he hears the bystanders say. Terrier has no need of inns, and is sure of a kindlier shelter than a dripping tree. From his own savings and the gifts of friends he has bought a donkey and a van which is his house and depôt.

Perchance it is winter in the Vosges, where a Protestant parish has been founded. For the first time the candles will be lit on a Protestant Christmas-tree, and Jacquet hangs on

[1] In one of Mr M'All's mission stations. It cost the Society £32 a year.

its branches twenty New Testaments as Christmas gifts. Perhaps it is winter in the Orne. Deep snows; and wolves run near the villages. In broad day three of the savage brutes track Depierre for nearly an hour. He reaches a market-town, and makes some impression. Unable to set the people against him, a bigoted notary offers him "one hundred francs in gold," if he will sign a paper pledging himself never to return to the place. Or, perchance, it may be Les Sables d'Olonne in the Vendée, where twelve members of the Protestant congregation are the fruit of colportage. A gentleman is dying, and Lance is at his bedside. He had bought a Bible of Lance three years ago, and has sent for him now; makes him promise that the Protestant pastor shall bury him; and breathes his last in Lance's arms.

Scenes numberless, as we have said. One sees, in flashes as it were, Havre, Rochefort, Rochelle, with their crowds of shipping; Carcassonne, Narbonne, Laval, little *communes* like those in the Gers, where the colporteur passed and congregations sprang up in his footprints;[1] the Quai de la Jolieth alive with linesmen and hussars going out to quell the Arab tribes in Algeria;[2] troops at Toulon, embarking for Tonquin; the Île du Ré, where convicts are assembled for transportation to New Caledonia; a Corsican town with priests "screaming" anathemas against "Satan's work," and a mob seizing poor Franchi to fling him into the sea. Colportage was started in Corsica in 1873, on the suggestion of the Rev. J. Owen Parr of Hinstock, Salop, who contributed towards the expense. For a time the task was given up, and Mr Bruce intervened, but another attempt was made from Paris, and in 1881 we read of an open-air meeting held by lantern-light under the olive trees and attended by the mayor

[1] In November 1882 the *Commune* and Municipal Council of Châtel-Guyon voted for the erection of a Protestant church and the appointment of a pastor—a striking instance of the divine influence operating through colportage.

[2] Marseilles, 1881; when 6000 Gospels were distributed "one by one."

and the magistrate, though the Eastern customs of the island prevented women from taking any part.

Brave, patient, apostolic labourers! "It is with tears I say adieu to colportage," wrote Puech, "but it is now beyond my strength"; and when the end came another old Bibleman left the Society a legacy of 150 francs.

In the course of these years many grants were voted by the Committee for the benefit of orphanages, Protestant colleges, schools, and medical missions, hospitals, the blind, military and other Bible classes, and prisons. Among the organisations, religious and philanthropic, which were assisted, was the celebrated M'All Mission, which spread so many fruitful branches over the country.

In 1877 the Committee contributed £100 towards the expenses of the Bible and Tract depôt in Paris, under the direction of Mr George Pearse. The project met with great success; in 1880 the establishment was reorganised; more ample accommodation was provided for the Religious Tract Society and the Bible Society, and the subsidy of the latter was raised to £150.

As in Italy, so in certain parts of France, the Society experienced the injurious consequences of indiscriminate benevolence. In Paris, where three of the seven colporteurs were withdrawn in 1880 on account of the increasing number and activity of Christian workers, there were so many facilities for obtaining the Scriptures gratis that it was extremely difficult to effect sales among the working classes. And what results could be expected in Brittany while English travellers left Portions scattered by the roadsides for the people to pick up? With a Bible selling (since 1873) at one franc, and a New Testament at four sous, free distribution could scarcely be justified save in exceptional circumstances.

The visits of the District-secretaries kept interest alive in the various English colonies, whether of workmen and

artisans or health and pleasure-seekers. In 1875 an Auxiliary was formed and a depôt opened at Cannes, and two years later similar measures were taken at Boulogne through the energy of Colonel Campbell and other friends.

A translation of the Gospel of St Luke in French Basque was issued in 1868, and in 1878 a revised version, the work of an anonymous Basque scholar, passed through the press.

The question of adopting Segond's French version began to engage the thoughts of the Committee in 1876. Its "indisputable superiority to all others" was strongly urged by many of the Protestant pastors and elders in France, but it was felt that certain passages, especially among the Messianic texts, called for revision, and in 1882 the matter was postponed for further deliberation.[1]

Attention was called in 1883 to the need for a version in Provençal for the use of the rustic population in the Var and the Bouches du Rhône. A beginning was made with the Gospel of St Luke, but the progress of this undertaking belongs to a later period.

Once more we reach the *landes*, the hollow ways, the apple-garths, the blue-blossomed flax-fields, the granite Calvaries of Brittany. In 1871 the Rev. John Jenkins, still at Morlaix, supervised another edition of his Breton New Testament—the fifth he had passed through the press in twenty-five years. In 1863 the Psalms by Legonidec had been added; separate Portions had afterwards been issued; and the work of distribution had been carried on by one or two colporteurs. In 1872 the veteran translator died, and was succeeded at Morlaix by his son, the Rev. A. Llewellyn Jenkins. In 1873 the revision of Legonidec's version of the Psalms was completed by the Rev. James Williams, sometime pastor at Quimper. The New Testament was

[1] The admirable version of the Old Testament by Louis Segond, Docteur en Theologie, was published at Geneva in 1874, at Nancy in 1877, and again in Geneva in 1879. His translation of the entire Bible was issued by the Oxford University Press in 1880.

The Revd Samuel B. Bergen

thoroughly revised in 1883 by the Rev. A. Llewellyn Jenkins, Pastor Bouhon of St Brieuc, and M. Rohan, the Breton poet and Keeper of the Records; and 7000 copies of the Breton text and 5000 of a diglot edition (Breton and Ostervald revised) were ordered in 1884. As late as 1883 the *curés* had not ceased Bible-burning, but the temper of the people was changing. In Belle-Isle-en-Mer, off the Morbihan coast, an undertaker bought a Bible, "for the use of dying persons who refused the attendance of a priest."

Let us now sum up the Society's operations in France. The total expenditure in connection with the Paris Agency from 1854 to 1884 amounted to £218,905, an average of £7296 a year.

The receipts from the agency for the sale of Scriptures came to £76,086, an average of £2536 a year.

The Bibles, Testaments, and Portions sold and otherwise distributed during the thirty years formed an aggregate of 4,164,604 copies.

Monod's agency (1871-72 to 1883-84) . .	2,047,730[1]
Pressensé's agency (1854-55 to 1870-71) . .	2,116,874
	4,164,604

To these it may be interesting to add the following:—

Pressensé's agency (1833-34 to 1853-54) . .	2,381,583
Kieffer's agency (1820-21 to 1832-33) . . .	730,650
Pre-agency period (1805 to 1820) . . .	975,320
Total distribution from 1805 to 1884 . . .	8,252,157

[1] Of these 2,000,000 the colporteurs sold 832,000 or 40·6 per cent.; other Societies disposed of 207,960, or 10·1 per cent.; 131,139 or 6·4 per cent. went in ordinary grants; and the distributions among the troops and at the Exhibition of 1878 accounted for 573,541 copies, mostly Portions, or 28 per cent.

CHAPTER XII

GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

In the first flush of the new Empire the hearts of many in Protestant Germany were stirred to the achievement of two other ideals of strength through union—a Church for the Fatherland, so broad in its basis as to include every Christian communion ; a National Bible Society, whose appeal to the sympathy, energy, and liberality of the Fatherland should leave no room for British co-operation. In February 1871 the latter project was laid before the thirty or forty German Bible Societies in a circular which, unfortunately, betrayed both ignorance and prejudice in regard to the great parent organisation. It was spoken of as "a foreign society" which opposed the revised version of Luther and sought to prescribe to the German Churches forms that deviated from their ecclesiastical traditions. The position and intentions of the British and Foreign Society were warmly vindicated by the heads of the Prussian and Stuttgart Bible Societies, who pointed out that, so far from aiming at a monopoly of Bible-work in the Fatherland, their English friends earnestly desired that their labours should be superseded by the activity of the native organisations. On the main question they agreed that the object contemplated in the circular would be best attained by a confederation of the existing Bible Societies. Otherwise no definite steps appear to have been taken, and the scheme for a Pan-Germanic Church was lost sight of in the pressure and excitement of a vital conflict.

The intellectual revolt against the dogma of Infallibility had issued in the Old Catholic movement, and in a sequel so formidable as to involve the civil supremacy of the State. The aggression of Rome may be said to have been transferred from the battle-fields of France to the very hearths of the German people. On that protracted struggle with an arrogant ecclesiasticism it is unnecessary to dwell; but it must be noted as one of the conditions in which the work of the agency was carried on. It will suffice, too, if we suggest other conditions, as little favourable to the work, though deplorably indicative of the need for it. On the one hand the democratic theories of Lassalle had thrown great masses of the working population into a ferment of atheistic socialism; on the other, Strauss had formulated in *The Old Faith and the New* the conclusions of extremists, that Christianity was a thing of the past and religion of any kind an illusion and a lie.

It was at junctures such as this that the best energies of the Society were called forth. Year after year fresh editions of the Scriptures — issues ranging from 300,000 to 470,000 copies—left the press at Berlin, Leipzig, Frankfort, Sulzbach, Cologne. Summer and winter the colporteurs were traversing the six-and-twenty states of the Empire. Between 1870 and 1884 their numbers varied from 50 to 75, and the average expenditure on their maintenance amounted to £3360 a year.[1] The altered conditions of life after the war had brought them money cares and anxiety for those dependent on them at home, but in 1872 a higher scale of wages and an investment scheme for making provision for old age restored the usual joyous spirit to their wayfaring. Scanty record survives of these good men, but glimpses of one or two bear testimony for their comrades. There was Zachert, who frequented the Waters of Hirschberg at the foot of the

[1] From 1870 to 1878 the expense of one of them was borne by Mr H. B. Jackson of Manchester.

Giant Mountains, a hale "Bible-bearer" of sixty and more, who had distributed 84,000 copies during twenty-one years of service; Adel, who gave his savings, nearly £9, as a donation to the Benevolent Fund; old Orlowski, who retired in 1879 after thirty-one years of colportage, and for whom there was ever "the wind on the heath, brother." "Had my good wife been still with me," he wrote, "I might feel better off. But she is gone, and my work is gone, and much else is gone. What remains is a broken-down body. May God soon take me home! When I read the reports I have no rest within the four walls of my house. I cannot range the land with my Bibles, so I rush into the open field to get breathing-room, so strong is the memory."

What strange scenes memory must have brought back to most of them! Scenes of an existence undreamed of in England—life on the Vistula; Polish rafts with their ragged half-savage crews; huge homely German barges with wife and chicks on board, bringing down in bulk the wheat and rye, barley and oats, linseed and rape of the Galician farms; great quadrangular mounds of grain unshipped on the river bank at Dantzic; hundreds of Casubian girls and women with their shovels, flinging the corn in long curves through the sunshine to air and dry it: Wendish life in the Spree Forest; miles of water, grass, and sky varied by miles of water, wood, and sky; silences unbroken by song of bird or cry of beast; a wild roadless barefoot Protestant country, where folk skate to market, church, and school in winter, and walk or wade in the summer, or punt along the network of three hundred streams.

And what chequered experiences! Yesterday it was the fanatical shriek, "They are Lutheran books; tear his knapsack off his back, and throw it into the fire!" To-day it is a nod from the Kaiser on the gay promenade at Baden-Baden, and the friendly greeting, "The Empress will come

by and by to make some purchases. I daresay you reckon her and myself among your very best customers." "It is quite true, Herr Kaiser"—quite true at least of her Majesty, who visited the colporteurs nearly every year from 1867 to 1881, and if she did not buy many books, paid right royally for what she did buy. To-morrow it may be a cheering word from Moltke in his castle grounds: "Bibles, your Excellency." "Good! no living man ought to be without a Bible. In my house you will also find Bibles. But what do your books cost?" So a copy of each sort will be bought, and the great soldier will ask how long he has been a colporteur, where he lives, what wages he gets, and send him on his way with a lighter heart.[1] Or it is an incident under the humble roof of a weaver: a little girl hears for the first time of the words "Suffer little children"; the colporteur lays his finger on one of the new Bible maps, "Here Jesus was born, a little babe in an ox's stall; here He died on the cross that we might be saved"; the child thinks of her savings-box; father and mother, not unmoved, exchange quick glances: "We have often wondered what her first purchase would be!"

A yearly circulation which fluctuated between 297,000 and 385,000 gave assurance that, however hostile the influences of the time, there still prevailed a simple faith in the truth and power of the Holy Scriptures. Nor did these figures stand alone. The Scottish Bible Society was widening its sphere of usefulness, and the native organisations were fitting themselves to satisfy the requirements of the Fatherland. In 1874, for example, when the issues of the agency

[1] Another of the Paladins was a Bibleman. At Varzin, shortly after the Sadowa campaign, Bismarck used to call his people together once a week for the reading of the Scriptures. On one of these Bible evenings a colporteur chanced to call at the castle, and when the household assembled, the Count announced: "There is a brother here this evening, a Bible colporteur, who knows far more about these things than I do. I beg him to come forward and conduct the meeting." And the Iron Chancellor, who took a humble part in the worship, listened attentively to the exhortation of the Society's Bible-bearer.

amounted to 258,000 copies, the Prussian Bible Society distributed 116,000; the Würtemberg 38,400; the Elberfeld 17,800; the Saxon 14,200; while smaller bodies brought the total issues of the German societies up to 210,000.

Among the Old Catholics the Word of God was the rallying point of those who had revolted against the pretensions of the Sovereign Pontiff. Mr Palmer Davies put himself in communication with their leaders, and considerable supplies were provided for their churches in Germany and Switzerland.

On the cession of Alsace-Lorraine depôts were opened at Strasburg, Mülhausen, and Metz, and three colporteurs were carefully selected. Five were at work when Mr Davies visited the province in 1877, but in a population of a million and a half the distribution did not exceed 8700 volumes. All but a fifth of that large population, however, belonged to the Church of Rome. The fires of fanaticism were fed with political hatred. The people were warned that Bible circulation was a Prussian device for subjugating their country. By a singular coincidence, too, on the very day on which the statue of the Immaculate Conception was crowned at Lourdes,[1] the miraculous vision of Lourdes was repeated in the "Whortle-wood" of Marpingen. Pilgrims trooped to the hallowed spot, among them the Princess of Thurn and Taxis, sister of the Empress of Austria; Prince Radziwill came from Rome with the special benediction of his Holiness for the devout miners and peasants of Marpingen; and, as at Lourdes, the miraculous waters became an object of traffic with all parts of the world. "Surely," wrote Mr Davies, "if anywhere God's pure Word is needed, it is in such a place as this and under such circumstances."

While the Society were eager to provide for every need, they practised a wise economy. In the spring of 1874

[1] The 3rd of July 1876.—*See* Kemen, *The Marpingen Apparitions.*

H.R.H. Prince Christian suggested the publication of the Bible in Platt Deutsch, or Low German, for the people of Sleswick-Holstein. On inquiry, however, it was ascertained that no edition had been printed for two and a half centuries, that the language itself had been discontinued in the pulpit and in the schools, and that the reappearance of such a version would not justify the expense of its production.

We note at the same date the last of an interesting system of distribution. It was in 1868, or earlier, that the Baroness de Rüdt, who acted as secretary of the Carlsruhe Auxiliary, took thought for the numbers of young journeymen who spent their *wander-jahre*—the term of travel fixed by law or ancient use between apprenticeship and mastership—roaming from place to place to perfect themselves in their craft. Her name spread to distant cities. The "wanderers" spoke of her to comrades in France, in Bohemia, in Austria, in Switzerland, in Rome; and in the course of a few years many thousands of artisans and mechanics went to her, sent in their "Wander-books" (containing name, age, country, and an attested list of all places at which they had stayed), and received an inscribed copy of the Scriptures, with a few stirring words of exhortation. In 1874 the good Baroness completed her own "wander-years," and this curious use of an old custom appears to have ceased.

Many kindly references have been made to the Children of Israel in the course of these volumes. We have now to record the accomplishment of a splendid piece of work on their behalf. In 1876 Professor Delitzsch completed his translation of the New Testament into Hebrew. It had been his dream to produce such a text as the Apostles themselves might have penned, had they written in "the language of Canaan," and for the greater part of his life he laboured continuously at his task. Franz Delitzsch was born at Leipzig on the 23rd February 1813, the very month in which Napoleon's Grand Army was streaming home in

a rabble across Europe. He came of Christian parents of humble origin, but as he grew up a kind-hearted Jew helped to provide for his education. That debt he repaid by his brilliant contributions to Hebrew scholarship and by his masterpiece which he committed to the custody of the Society, and for which he would accept no remuneration. The first edition of 2500 copies was exhausted within a few months of publication in 1877. A second appeared in 1878, the third in 1879-80—each revised in the light of thousands of letters from rabbis, clergymen, scholars, missionaries, and the proofs were read by Mr S. R. Driver, one of the revisers of the English Old Testament. The fourth edition, which appeared in 1882, was electrotyped. The text was now regarded as fixed; it was read with delight in Persia, in India, in many a distant city of the wandering people; but to the close of his life the distinguished scholar continued to perfect his masterpiece.[1]

On the celebration of their golden wedding (11th June 1879), the Kaiser and the Empress Augusta were presented with an address of congratulation, in which grateful reference was made to the fact that for more than seventy years the Royal House of Hohenzollern had from time to time given public proofs of personal interest in the sacred work of the Society.

A few months later — 24th September — twelve of the German Bible Societies met in conference at Stuttgart for the consideration of measures to make their own work so efficient and comprehensive that the parent Society might gradually be relieved of all responsibility. With a combined annual circulation of less than a quarter of a million volumes to meet the requirements of nearly forty-five millions of people, that consummation seemed still remote; and Mr Palmer Davies

[1] On his seventieth birthday, the 23rd February 1883, he was presented with a New Testament in Greek and English, "as a slight mark of the Committee's high appreciation of his gratuitous services, and in token of their thankfulness to God for prolonging his valuable life."

strongly deprecated any relaxation of efforts in a country which was called Protestant but was numerically more Catholic than Spain, and which, if it were Protestant, depended solely on the Bible for its religion.

Eighteen-eighty was the jubilee year of the German Agency; and the retrospect of half a century was strangely illuminative. In 1830 the Society's issues for the whole world slightly exceeded 430,000 copies. For the last three years the circulation in Germany and Switzerland alone came within 100,000 of that figure. Up to 1830 the Society had printed 165,779 German Scriptures of all kinds; the total was now nearly 12,000,000. In 1830 Dr Pinkerton was sole agent for Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe; his continental charge was now divided among independent agents in Berlin, Vienna, Odessa, Constantinople, Rome, Lisbon, and Madrid. Tens of thousands of copies had been distributed among the half million of Jews in Germany; over 1,000,000 copies had been placed in the hands of the Roman Catholics, and the activity of the Society had compelled the Holy See to sanction the publication, with notes, of a version of the Bible, which the diocesan bishops now sanctioned without notes.

Mr Palmer Davies returned to his post after an interesting visit to England in December 1880. A few months later he was laid in his honoured grave, at the early age of fifty-five and in the twenty-fourth year of his agency. He left an organisation so trim—tried colporteurs, depôts in charge of veterans, or the sons and assistants of veterans[1]—that his successor, Mr James Watt, for fourteen years agent at Odessa, was able to manage both agencies until other arrangements were made for South Russia.

One of the new agent's first official acts was the presentation of magnificent copies of the Bible to the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden (daughter of the Kaiser) on

[1] Ziegler of Berlin, Hoppe of Frankfort, Jacklen of Cologne, Rüdolph of Breslau.

their silver wedding, and to their daughter, the Princess Victoria, who was married to the Crown Prince of Sweden on the same day, 20th September 1881. In February 1883 the silver wedding of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Germany came round, and Mr Sharp the Secretary and Mr Watt (who were also bearers of a letter from Lord Shaftesbury) were permitted to offer the congratulations and good wishes of the Society. Their Imperial Highnesses graciously accepted a copy of the Scriptures; and in the course of some talk on the Bible-work of the world the Crown Prince mentioned that the Bible which had been presented to him at the Paris Exhibition in 1867, and which had been his companion through the Franco-German war, he had given to his second son, Prince Henry, who had begged it of him on his first going to sea.

Early in 1884 the Committee invited Major Westphal to the position of an Honorary Life Governor. The Major was now eighty-six, and seven-and-twenty years had gone by since he succeeded his aged father-in-law, Mr Elsner. During that time he had circulated 351,627 copies of Scripture among the troops of the Fatherland, and the total distribution since the scheme was started in 1831 stood at 778,974 copies.

During the period the blind were not forgotten, and many a touching episode might be told in that connection. At Hamburg, Bremen, and Stettin thousands of families seeking new homes beyond the sea obtained the Word of God as the last memorial of their country. The Sunday schools, unknown in Germany in 1862, had steadily increased, and in 1880 (the centenary of English Sunday schools) there were 2000, with 10,000 teachers and 200,000 scholars. War was not the only calamity which appealed to the ready sympathy of the Society. When the dunes gave way in the winter of 1872, and the Baltic burst for leagues over the lowlands of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and

Holstein; during the Elbe floods in 1876; when vast tracts of the Rhine country were inundated in 1883, agent and colporteur were at hand to offer the one unfailing source of consolation.

Between 1854 and 1884 the total circulation from the three agencies in Germany was about 8,017,800 copies.[1]

From 1860, when distinct accounts began, up to 1884 the expenditure on Germany was £667,216. The sale receipts for the same period amounted to £277,268, or 41·5 of the expenditure. The expenditure, however, included the cost of work done in Germany for the benefit of other countries. Consignments of Scriptures were despatched from the depôts to London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, St Petersburg, Odessa, Baghdad, and Ispahan; and the versions that left the press included Tibetan, Persian, and Hebrew.

Free contributions were received from lovers of the Bible both in Germany and Switzerland. Exclusive of £1000 paid in London by a German baron for special work among his countrymen at home, these amounted between 1868 and the end of the period to £4822. The list included the small Auxiliaries which have already been mentioned, "landed proprietors, bankers, merchants, medical men, pastors," and many humble folk whose gifts are pleasant to think of—7s. from guests at a silver wedding, 20 francs from a Swiss maid, £2, 19s. 7d. from four colporteurs, yearly sums of 8s. or 9s. from a children's Bible Society at Memel ("for Scriptures to be sent to the Turks and Persians"), 20 thalers (£2, 18s. 4d.) from a shoemaker who still read the Bible given him by the Society in his poverty thirty or forty years

[1] The following figures show the total circulation of the three agencies from Pinkerton's time:

Frankfort,	1830-1884,	over 5,083,000
Cologne,	1847-1884,	over 3,099,000
Berlin,	1856-1884,	over 3,879,900
		12,062,000

before, and 48 kreutzers (1s. 4d.) collected on two Sunday afternoons, after addresses on the Society's work, by the pastor of "a very poor congregation in the Taunus Mountains." Under this head should perhaps be included £130 subscribed by English and German friends towards the expenses at the Düsseldorf Exhibition of 1880, at which over 47,000 Portions were distributed gratuitously, mostly among Roman Catholic visitors, and Scriptures to the value of £35 were sold.[1]

One unfortunate difficulty remains to be noticed — the recurrent opposition of some of the German Bible Societies to the omission of the Apocrypha. They warmly acknowledged their origin, and their indebtedness to the parent Society, but strangely ignoring the fact that Luther, they themselves, the English Churches, and the Bible Society were at one as to the books which form the canon of Scripture, they emphasised their warning to the uneducated multitudes whom they themselves were unable to supply with the Word of God—"Whoever wishes to have a complete Bible must not buy one from an English colporteur." And these "English colporteurs" were their own countrymen, devout members of their own faith, and, whenever possible, were chosen with the advice of their own pastors.

The period closed with the Luther Quater-centenary. The agency took no official part in the enthusiastic celebrations, but readily co-operated where their assistance was needed for gifts of the Scriptures. A deputation from London visited the Wartburg, the "romantic old Hill-castle overhanging Eisenach and the general Thuringian Forest," and such portions of the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt as had escaped the fire of 1872.[2] Twenty Bibles and New

[1] The gift was in part due to a poem, published in several journals, which a lady wrote on the contemptuous answer of a door-keeper—*Die Bibel draussen!* ["Outside for the Bible"].

[2] Truly the most romantic of Hill-castles—"Magician Klingsohr having sung there, St Elizabeth having lived there and done conscious miracles, Martin Luther having lived there and done unconscious ditto."—Carlyle, *The Prinzenraub*. An

Testaments, representing the editions of Luther's version published by the Society, were presented to the Library in the very room at the Wartburg in which Luther wrote a great part of his translation, and a free grant of Testaments was made to the hospital in one part of the Erfurt monastery.

The least showy, but perhaps the most important incident in connection with the festival was the publication of the *Probebibel*, or tentative edition of a revised Luther Bible, the work of a body of pious and learned German divines. In its final form it was hoped that it would prove a bond of union between the various German Bible Societies, and lead to their virtual, if not actual, amalgamation. In that hope the Committee most heartily joined.

We pass to Switzerland. There too for some time the course of events was disturbed by religious troubles. In 1868 a fierce crusade against the Bible began in Neuchâtel, and spread like fire through the Protestant cantons of French Switzerland. Within a twelvemonth free thought had taken the shape of "Liberal Christianity" — of "a Church without a priesthood, a religion without a catechism, a worship without mysteries [sacraments], a morality without theology, a God without system." Three years later the Confederation entered on its violent policy of enfranchisement from all forms of religious and "sacerdotal tutelage," with the amazing result that the ministry of the National Protestant Church was thrown open to men of every creed and of none.

During these years of excitement, the distribution of the Word of God reached its highest point. Broadly speaking, the work had now been divided between the German Agency as a source of supply and the Swiss Bible Societies—the

incident at the Augustinian monastery forms the subject, as we have noted, of Mr Ward's picture at the Bible House.

Basel, St Gall, Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, and others — as distributing organisations. The agency printed and provided the Scriptures at a low price; the societies found their own depôts, colporteurs, and Bible carriages. At the same time the co-operation of the parent Society was not restricted to these lines. It too had its depôts—at Berne, Schafthausen, St Gall, Geneva, Neuchâtel, and, later, at Zürich; and from these a yearly average of 12,000 copies found their way through the country. But this represented less than a fourth of the whole Swiss circulation.[1] From time to time, as a favourable opportunity occurred, colporteurs were also employed in districts outside the range of other Biblemen. It was reported in 1878 that the distribution of the Scriptures compared with the population was as one copy to every fifty-two of the inhabitants, a ratio which "far exceeded the proportion in Germany, and would compare satisfactorily with the most favoured countries."

The thoughts of the Committee often went out to those highland valleys in the Grisons in which ten thousand Protestant mountaineers, shut in by snowy passes for nearly eight months of the year, had preserved the light of the Reformation and the tradition of the Bible as the book of the people. In 1867 there was again so great a dearth of Scriptures in the Engadine that even the pulpit Bibles had disappeared, and pastors were compelled to read from manuscript the chapters they wished to use at divine service. An edition of the New Testament and Psalms in Lower Roumansch (Churwelsche), revised and modernised in spelling by two pastors, Justus Andeer of Fuldera and Nicolas Vital of Fettan, was issued in 1869. The whole Bible, similarly edited, appeared in 1870, and in ten months 1166 copies of the Bible and New Testament were sold, one for every ninth person.

[1] During the eight years 1868-69—1875-76 the total circulation was 440,989, of which 98,368 were sales from these depôts. In the next eight years the total was 444,625, of which 93,630 were depôt sales.

Editions of the Bible and New Testament, revised by Kirchenrath Darms of Flims and Pastor Candrian of Zillis, were published in the Oberland or Ladin dialect in 1872, and nearly 1000 copies were sold in the course of the year. In 1882, however, the circulation of these versions averaged about 300 copies a year; and as they were found to be of little use where the Upper Engadine dialect was spoken, the Committee assisted Mr Mathieson of Mildmay in the reissue of Pastor Menni's New Testament in Upper Roumansch, the language of about 45,000 people. Twelve hundred copies were ready for circulation in 1882, but two years later it was a subject of lament that, with a few bright exceptions, neither pastors nor people felt any concern in the cause of the Bible.

The work in the Confederation was not confined to the Swiss. During the ten years (1872-82) in which the St Gothard Tunnel was being made, a floating Italian population, estimated at some 20,000, presented a wide field for Bible operations. Spring after spring, when the passes were clear, troops of navvies and artisans poured over the Alps, seeking employment on the railways and other public enterprises, and spreading over the country to the French border fortresses and into Southern Germany. Their needs seem to have been first noticed by Mr Mirrielees (one remembers him in Russia in the Crimean days?), who started a small Auxiliary at Vevey for the benefit of two or three thousand of them labouring in the Rhone valley near Lake Leman. The Geneva Evangelical Society began colportage among the St Gothard gangs; shortly afterwards Basel, Berne, Lausanne, and other societies combined in a scheme of Evangelistic and Biblical operations; and in 1878 a diglot St Mark, Italian and German, was issued by the agency.[1]

A tragic mystery hangs over a portion of this field. In

[1] The issues of Italian Scriptures in Switzerland and Germany rose from 2076 in 1872 to 9230 in 1875, and 10,319 in 1876.

September 1880, shortly after sending in a cheery report of his progress, Garuti, a gifted colporteur-evangelist from Basel, suddenly disappeared somewhere in the wild and bigoted region between St Gothard and Lugano, and no light was ever thrown on the circumstances of his death. In their discouragement the Basel friends abandoned the undertaking, but in 1882 Mr Watt found an Italian to take up the dangerous work.

The jubilee of the Bible Society of the Canton de Vaud (Lausanne) was celebrated in September 1877, that of the Evangelical Society of Geneva in June 1881, and at each the representative of the British and Foreign was conspicuously welcomed. During its half-century the Lausanne Society had circulated about a quarter of a million copies, a number larger by several thousands than the population of the canton, and had granted votes in aid of work far beyond its borders.

The sympathy of the Committee was called forth in September 1881 by the tremendous landslip from the Risikopf which destroyed the village of Elm in the Canton Glarus. Of its thousand inhabitants nearly two hundred were buried beneath the masses of mountain which fell over meadows, pastures, and forest; and the Committee joined the Y.M.C.A. of St Gall in presenting the Scriptures to the survivors, who had lost everything but life.

Worn with age and failing health, Mlle. Gruet applied in 1881 for release from the voluntary duties which she had fulfilled so long. Nearly thirty-seven years had gone by since she and Lieutenant Graydon opened the little depôt at Neuchâtel. As a young man Mr Palmer Davies had lived for some time under her father's roof; and she was a depositary before his successor Mr Watt was born. Her place was not easily to be filled; in the last year of the period she was still at her post, and it was through her that the Neuchâtel Bible Society then presented a donation

of £20 in token of their gratitude for the Society's services rendered during half a century, and enhanced for many years by the zeal and helpfulness of Mlle. Gruet. No one, single-handed, had done so much for Switzerland as this lady of humble position, small resources, and delicate health. When she began, the population of her canton was under 70,000; in 1884 it was about 104,000. In the interval she had distributed 157,000 copies of the Word of Life.

On the occasion of the Swiss National Exhibition at Zürich in the summer of 1883 the Committee and the Swiss societies combined to furnish a kiosk, from which 73,000 copies (chiefly Gospels) were circulated, and many hundreds of the polyglot booklet *St John* iii. 16, were sold. One cannot even conjecture the remote spots to which these may have been carried by the numbers of visitors attracted by the St Gothard Tunnel.

The total circulation of the Society in Switzerland during these thirty years exceeded 1,400,000 copies. The following figures, however, indicate the progress effected at different stages:—

Lieut.-Graydon, 1854-55—1859-60 . . .	112,228	copies
Frankfort Agency, 1857-58—1869-70 . .	498,888	„
„ „ 1870-71—1883-84 . .	796,716	„
	1,407,832	
Distribution prior to 1854	162,603	„
Total from 1830 to 1884	1,570,436	„

CHAPTER XIII

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

EVERY hope of Bible-work in Spain had vanished, when suddenly the revolution of 1854 swept the reactionaries from power. The new *régime* proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and liberty of conscience, and an unexpected prospect opened on the Committee. The friends at Gibraltar seized the chances of the moment. The Spanish stores at the depôt and the stock of the Christian Knowledge Society were packed on a mule-train, hurried across the frontier by a colporteur, and eagerly bought up by the people, many of whom came seventy and eighty miles in wild weather and across roadless country. The Rev. George Alton, one of the Gibraltar secretaries, proceeded to the capital to organise a system of distribution. The law excluding Spanish books printed abroad still prevailed, and after consulting the heads of the provisional Government he printed 10,000 Bibles and Testaments in Madrid. The official sanction needed for their circulation was refused, and the veto of the censor—an ecclesiastic—was followed by a warning that on the issue of a single copy the whole would be confiscated. Appeals and protests were useless. In July 1856 the fleeting episode of popular sovereignty and liberal institutions ended in the smoke of Serrano's guns, and three months later the repressive Constitution of 1845 was restored under the premiership of Narvaez, "the man of the stick and the gag."

The incident cost the Society something over £2500. About £1570 had been spent on the Madrid editions, which

now lay sealed under the sharp surveillance of the authorities. They were seed in the seed-sheet, as time was to show, awaiting the season of the sower.

The printing of the Spanish Scriptures was resumed at home. An edition of the New Testament, the expense of which was in part defrayed by a valuable gift from the Spanish Evangelisation Society, appeared in 1858; the complete Bible (Valera's version) was finished in 1861; in 1865 another edition, in larger type, was in the press, and preparations were in train for yet a third with marginal references. In the meanwhile supplies were placed at the disposal of the Evangelisation Society and of a French committee interested in the spiritual progress of the Spaniards, and grants were voted to private friends through whose furtherance they reached their destination. At Gibraltar work was vigorously carried on among the garrison, the shipping in the bay, the native population and visitors, but a cautious reticence was observed as to the ever-increasing intercourse maintained with persons in all parts of Andalusia by the energetic colporteur Escalante. In one way or another several hundreds of volumes were passed yearly into Spain, notwithstanding the serious risks incurred both by the distributers and the readers of the Word. Escalante himself was arrested while selling his books at one of the celebrated fairs, and after a protracted legal struggle barely succeeded in obtaining his freedom from the Court of Appeal at Seville. Others, whose only crime was that they had "searched the Scriptures," were less fortunate. In 1862 Manuel Matamoros and José Alhama were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment as "Protestant propagandists." The remonstrances of Protestant Europe produced no effect, unless it were to whet the inquisitional spirit and to multiply the dangers of espionage.

During these years of reaction in Spain, a marked

improvement was taking place in Portugal. In 1858 the great mass of the nation was roused to indignant resistance by the insidious designs of the Ultramontanes, who aimed at the control of female education by the introduction of French Sisters of Charity and Lazarist confessors. An association was formed by the most enlightened and influential men in Lisbon to check the intrigues of the Jesuits; and public opinion, which proved strong enough to exact a ministerial pledge against the encroachments of Rome, found its loftiest expression in a manifesto from the pen of the historian Herculano, vibrating with the supreme faith of the Bible Society:—

"The only true morality is in the Gospel of Jesus Christ: let our children be instructed only by this book, and not by catechisms which have been manifestly got up to serve the sinister ends of the priesthood. One of the greatest services which this association could render to the nation is to propagate the Gospel in very cheap editions, so as to come within the reach of everybody's means."

As time passed, the growth of liberal sentiments and the tendencies toward religious toleration became so marked that in 1864 the Rev. William Tiddy visited Portugal on behalf of the Committee. His report on the prospects of the cause was most satisfactory. The importation of Portuguese books printed abroad was prohibited, but there was no legal impediment to the printing of the Bible in Portugal, and nothing beyond the hostility of the Papacy and the superstition and illiteracy of the people to prevent its circulation. In the course of the year the Rev. F. H. Roughton, who had resided in the country and knew the language, was appointed agent at Lisbon; separate Gospels of Almeida's version, revised for idiom and orthography, were at once put to press, colporteurs were obtained, and work was begun. In 1865, 5000 Bibles and 10,000 New Testaments were available, and the country was being explored by six Biblemen, whose sales for some time ran to 500 and 600 copies a week. The Jesuit missionaries were furious. They

reviled the colporteurs as infidels who denied the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and denounced the Scriptures with such violence as to excite the ridicule of the people and to disgust even the parish priests. The more formidable opponents of the movement took a more destructive and vexatious course. The right of printing was beyond question; they attacked the legality of selling books which they declared to be spurious and proscribed by Holy Church. Colporteurs were arrested; detained in prison, sometimes for months; liberated without apology or redress, or brought to trial before a jury prejudiced by the animosity of the priests, and sometimes intimidated by the threat of excommunication. In three notable cases in which the men had been condemned in inferior courts, the conviction was annulled by a higher tribunal, and in one instance the Bishop of Oporto, at whose instigation the accused had been thrown into prison, was ordered to restore the Bibles and Testaments he had seized. In 1868 the English Ambassador, Sir Charles Murray, drew the attention of the Ministry to these abuses of power and perversions of justice, and an assurance was given that the judicial authorities should be directed to confine themselves within the limits of the law, which did not prohibit the sale of the Scriptures.

There were, of course, many conscientious officials who dealt out impartial justice, pronounced the Society's books genuine, and refused to make a distinction between the Protestant text of Almeida and the Roman Catholic version of Figueiredo;[1] but even among the well-intentioned there were men of position who dreaded trouble — "Have the goodness to go away, I don't want a disturbance,"—and

[1] João Ferreira d'Almeida: originally a Roman Catholic missionary, but date of conversion and time and place of death uncertain; version revised by Tranquebar missionaries, and completed (Daniel-Malachi) by a Dutch minister at Batavia, 1748. The Roman Catholic version (published in twenty-three volumes with annotations in 1781-83) was the work of a learned ecclesiastic Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, a pupil but afterwards a strong opponent of the Jesuits and of the usurpations of the Papacy.

others who knew that they were powerless against an outbreak of bigotry—"Be off without delay, or they will kill you; I can give you no protection; you don't know this people as I do." In any case legal decisions and ministerial injunctions had little effect on ecclesiastics who exalted their Church above all law, who could too frequently count upon the timidity or obsequiousness of magistrates, and who seldom scrupled to turn to advantage the prejudices and passions of the crowd. But harassed though they were by rancorous abuse, false charges, seizure of books, arbitrary arrest, the colporteurs never wholly lost heart. If they were brow-beaten by one *administrador*, another examined their stock with a friendly smile, and a Bible or New Testament was bought while an order to the police was being written on their behalf. In one place the school-boys attacked them with stones, or ruffians lay in ambush on the roads they were expected to take, or the priest tore a book to shreds and dashed the fragments in their faces; in another a priest bought and encouraged his flock to buy, or a schoolmaster urged fathers and mothers to get Testaments for the children. In more than one village where the "false Bible" had been denounced from the altar the colporteur was asked to wait by the wayside when he left, so that the *senhor padre* might not discover who obtained copies.

The sales by colportage were within a score or two of 16,000 in 1867. No doubt hundreds of copies, surrendered in obedience to the bishop's pastoral or extorted by the threats of the priest or the Jesuit missionary, had been destroyed; but already the effects of the work were visible in the prayer meetings and Bible classes held in Oporto, Lisbon, and the sea-port of Olhão on the Mediterranean, where many believers among the working classes were asking for teachers to be sent to them.

To the surprise of the clerical party a depôt was opened in

Lisbon in 1868; to their chagrin the Government showed no sign of disapproval; and unseemly outbursts of priestly rage—"Cursed be these books, and cursed be he who sells them"—were counterbalanced by the appreciation of public men—"I am exceedingly glad that such a shop has been opened; there ought to be one in every city, as a witness to the Word of God." The sales did not go far to cover the expense, but the well-stocked shelves and the open Bible in the window were a standing evidence, in full view of the capital, of the legal position and undisguised purpose of the Society.

By this time the excitement of novelty had begun to subside. Those who had long desired the Scriptures had obtained them; the inquiring and the curious had been satisfied; the opportunity of purchasing "the forbidden book," merely because it was forbidden, had lost its first attraction; and in 1868 the colportage sales fell to something over 10,000 copies. The illiteracy of the great mass of the population also restricted the work, and during the next sixteen years the average annual distribution little exceeded 4000 copies; but this smaller figure might be taken as the measure of the steady evangelistic effort which was producing a real influence upon the nation.

Early in 1870 Mr Roughton accepted the post of English chaplain at Pernambuco; the affairs of the Society were placed in charge of a committee of supervision organised by Mr Bergne during a visit to Lisbon, and the business of the depôt was intrusted to Mr J. E. Tugman, an English resident. Though there was still no lack of petty persecution, the spirit of hostility was less aggressive, and an occasional incident lit up the prospect with the promise of a more perfect ideal of freedom. In the market-place of the ancient city of Evora a colporteur was assailed by a priest for selling the Protestant Bible in violation of the law. The colporteur boldly appealed to the Archbishop, and, to the amazement of the priest, his superior informed him, in the colporteur's

presence, that he had himself a copy of the same Bible, and, although the Apocrypha was wanting, the book was genuine, and could therefore be bought by the people. At Santo Alegro a dozen priests surrounded the same colporteur, bought a copy of the Scriptures, and gleefully burnt it before his face. With threatening cries they ordered him from the market-square; he refused to leave, was promptly arrested for "resisting the authority of the priests," and hurried off to prison. The people followed in an excited crowd, demanding by what right the man was detained, and after a heated altercation the *regedor* listened to the advice of his friends, and the colporteur was set at liberty. Finally, the powerful voice of the press was raised in protest against bigotry and malevolence:—

"The Omnipotent God had given liberty to the soul. Let the Catholic party avoid political egotism and that system of intolerance which proclaims the slavery of the mind. The happiness of man rests on the Gospel of Christ, but the Church should shed abroad a light that illumines, not a fire that burns; society should be composed of believers, not of fanatics."

At this point we turn once more to the troubled story of Spain. In the winter of 1866 Mr G. T. Edwards and the Rector of Witchampton visited Madrid. They found the country drifting rapidly to disaster—the Queen under the influence of an intriguing priest and a nun who counterfeited the stigmata of the Saviour's Passion;[1] the ministry pledged to undisguised tyranny; right of speech and freedom of the press abolished; electoral laws altered by decree; municipalities dissolved; legality trampled under-foot; Christianity itself, with its imagery, its pageants, its Whitsunday bull-fight "in honour of the Holy Ghost," a short remove from paganism.[2] In such circumstances they saw it was impossible to further the cause of the Society. In June 1867 the Govern-

[1] Her Majesty's confessor, Padre Claret, who held the preferment of the archbishopric of Cuba, and Sister Patrocinio, the so-called "Bleeding Nun."

[2] Hume, *Modern Spain*, p. 455.

ment consented at last to the removal of the 10,000 Spanish Bibles and Testaments which had been detained for nearly twelve years under the eye of the censor, and they were conveyed across the frontier and put in safe keeping at Bayonne.

The end came with circumstances of tragic irony. In 1868 Pope Pius IX. sent Queen Isabella the Golden Rose. That beautiful symbol — a cluster of roses and rosebuds on a thorny stem, all wrought of pure gold—is blessed by his Holiness on the fourth Sunday in Lent and bestowed on the royal lady who, in pious act or intention, has shown most zeal for the Church. On the 8th February, in token of "the protection of God to His well-beloved daughter, whose high virtues made her a shining light amongst women," the Rose was presented to this royal lady whose court and whose life had been "the scandal of Madrid and all Europe."[1] Within eight months the guns of Topete's war-ships and the strains of Riego's Hymn (the Spaniards' Marseillaise) sounded over Cadiz Bay the knell of the dynasty; on the 27th September the royalists made their last stand, and then merged into the ranks of the insurgents; on the 30th the Queen arrived a discrowned fugitive at Bayonne.

With strange irresolution the leaders of the revolution shrank from the task of reconstruction; but the provisional Government issued a broadly liberal manifesto, and Lord Shaftesbury received an assurance of sympathy and goodwill from General Prim, who had often declared, when an exile in England, that if ever he rose to power the Bible should have free course in Spain. The Committee took action without delay. The Rev. J. G. Curie resigned his post as chaplain to the Prussian embassy, and became the Society's agent in Madrid. The Scriptures at Bayonne were brought back into the country, and once more the Word of God was in circulation. The import law still shut out the

[1] Field, *Old and New Spain*, p. 145.

Spanish supplies available at Gibraltar, Lisbon, and other stations, but large editions were put to press in the capital, while consignments in French, German, Dutch, and other languages were forwarded from the Bible House. Hasty tours were made through the provinces, and from Bilbao to Almeria, from Talavera to Barcelona, arrangements for colportage, depôts, sub-depôts, sale through booksellers and tradesmen were completed in sixty-eight towns and cities.

Eighteen-sixty-nine was a year of high enthusiasm. A special fund was started for the printing and distribution of a million Spanish Gospels. The Cortes met; the forces of bigotry defeated the claim to absolute religious freedom, but the concession of toleration to foreigners and Spaniards who abandoned Romanism abolished at least one of the worst forms of Papal despotism. On Sunday, 28th March, the Holy Communion according to the Protestant rite was administered in Madrid for the first time since the days of Philip II. It had long been a hope and a belief that the seed sown by Borrow, Graydon, and others had not wholly perished—that many who never separated from the Church because they dreaded her vengeance had lived and died in the light of the Gospel and had left its simple teaching among their children. In the safety guaranteed by the new constitution evidence appeared on all sides of the blessing which had rested on that early work—places of worship in Seville and Barcelona, Málaga and Valladolid and Cadiz, Zaragoza, Córdova, and Cartagena; crowded services; people going from great distances to listen to the Bible message. In Madrid, where five or six chapels had been opened, the Reformed Spanish Church, founded at Gibraltar in April 1868, had drawn together a congregation of eight hundred persons, of whom at least one hundred were communicants. The demand for the Scriptures, especially for the complete Bible, exceeded all expectation. It was read by tradesmen and artisans in

their moments of leisure; peasants arrived from places ten or twelve leagues away—from *pueblos* notorious for their fanaticism—to purchase two or three score copies at a time. Free gifts were rare, but a generous discretion was allowed in meeting the needs of the poorest, and the poorest were everywhere, for heavy taxation, political disorder, and depressed trade had impoverished the country. In 1869 considerably over 38,000 copies were sold by the small band of colporteurs; more than 88,000 had been dispersed among the cities and towns with which arrangements had been made, and the number of these had increased to eighty-six. A common cause united the agency with the kindred societies and the various Christian workers who were labouring for the welfare of Spain.[1] Then, and later, its resources were gladly placed at their service; their schools were supported with ample grants; and every available means of co-operation was adopted.

Seventy thousand Bibles and Testaments and 240,000 Gospels and Portions—the first instalment of the Million scheme—had left the press; other large editions of Valera were in progress, and ample accommodation was required. Suitable premises were taken in a thoroughfare leading to the busy historical *plaza*, the Puerta del Sol, and for the next fifteen years the struggle between the Reformation and the Inquisition centred round the depôt in the Calle de Preciados. Before the end of '69 Mr Curie's health failed, and on his resignation a few months later he was succeeded by Mr Corfield, who had been sent out to share the increasing burden of the agency.[2]

Five-and-twenty colporteurs were now employed. In Galicia with its green English landscapes, in the Asturias

[1] Among individuals in Madrid may be mentioned Dr Knapp, the biographer of Borrow, who was training twenty or thirty young Spaniards as evangelists, conducted four Sunday schools, and had several large halls in which services were held five nights in the week.

[2] Richard Corfield, as we shall see, had just returned home after twelve years' service in Brazil and the Argentine.

and Leon, in the vast plain of La Mancha, among the snowy sierras of Granada, in the Balearic Islands, the Word of God was reaching the people of Spain, despite the turbulence and insecurity caused by the long delay in filling the vacant throne. Some sixty towns and hamlets were visited, and over 9000 copies were sold in the course of three months in Catalonia alone. In some localities little difficulty was experienced; in others the colporteur offered his books amid wild scenes of tumult and execration; but there were few places in which he did not find some one to welcome him and bid him God-speed on his mission. Stormy demonstrations marked the opening of the depôt at Valencia, and the depositary was repeatedly threatened with assassination; at Segovia a plot to burn the Bible stall and its contents was thwarted by the officials, who gave the colporteurs a whistle to summon help when needed; at Barcelona the Vicar-General of the diocese advertised the reward of a rose of gold for the person who delivered to his curate the largest number of "Protestant and impious books."[1]

The work entered upon a bright if temporary phase. Priests and friars who had been led to embrace the truth of the Gospel now went forth to teach the pure faith of the early ages. Old churches, sequestrated by the Government, were turned into Bible halls and places of evangelical worship. Schools were multiplying in connection with missionary effort, and requests for preachers came from remote villages where the colporteur had stood the brunt of fanatical violence. The windows of the agency displayed a book seen for the first time in living memory—a Family Bible; and even hostile eyes were arrested by the embossed pages of St John's Gospel for the blind. No opportunity of spreading a know-

[1] A warning was added against indiscreet zeal in buying books for the purpose, "for by so doing they would only help the propagators by the augmented gains they would derive, although they sold their books at such shamefully low prices."

ledge of the Scriptures was neglected. The Society's versions, in 124 volumes, were presented to the National Library in Madrid, and cordially acknowledged by one of the Secretaries of State; and 430 books in eleven Oriental and European tongues were distributed among the fifty municipal libraries recently founded throughout the kingdom, on the distinct stipulation that in each at least one copy in Spanish should be accessible to the public. The Committee would have gladly done something for the children of Spain. Painfully alive to the ignorance and superstition of the great mass of the nation—in a population of 16,000,000 three-fourths were unable to read or write—the Government had freed education from ecclesiastical interference and established municipal schools in all the leading towns. The introduction of the New Testament was proposed, but so serious a "concession to Protestantism" was beyond the daring of the most democratic Cabinet.

Besides the various Spanish editions, the Gospel of St Lukę in pure Guipuzcoan was printed for the Basque provinces from plates presented by the Rev. J. E. Dalton; George Borrow was revising his Gitano translation of the same Gospel,[1] and the Committee were seeking for an editor to undertake the revision of the Catalan New Testament.

So ended 1870. It was the year of Papal Infallibility and of the downfall of the Temporal Power: the Bible had entered Rome with the Italian troops: the legions of Germany were camped round beleaguered Paris.[2]

The fund for the Million Gospels closed in 1871. The list of subscriptions contained no entry more touching in its interest than the £60 raised by the poor congregations of Italy, which included Rosa Madiai and others who had suffered chains and exile for their faith. The fund amounted

[1] It appeared in 1872.

[2] The offer of the Spanish crown to a Hohenzollern had been made a pretext by the French for the rupture with Germany.

to £8133, but already the cost of printing the Scriptures in Spain exceeded £14,000.

On the 2nd February—a snowy day—the second son of Victor Emmanuel entered Madrid as King of Spain. Marshal Prim had been assassinated six days before, and in the church of Atocha, hung with the banners of Spanish victories, Amadeo looked for the first and last time on the face of the man who had given him the crown, and who, had he lived, might have baffled the factions, intrigues, and studied insults which made it an intolerable burden. Two years later the King abdicated his humiliating and untenable position; a Republic was proclaimed, and once more Spain was plunged into the horrors of civil war.

That brief reign, however, was a time of prosperous activity. The colporteurs, knapsack on back or trudging with mule-cart or pack-horse, were abroad in thirty-two of the forty-seven provinces. Through a concession of the Minister of Justice, several of them were provided with licences, which insured them against many hardships and hindrances by declaring the legality of their calling. The widespread demand for the Word of God raised the circulation to a point only twice exceeded in any later period. The issues from the central depôt numbered 173,800 copies, and of these 124,000 were distributed by the colporteurs of the agency, while some 38,000 were supplied to the Scottish Bible Society, which had its own men at work in the districts it had marked out for itself. Even during the next two years of strife and political disorder—although the depôts at Seville and Valencia were closed because the results did not justify the expense, and colportage had to be abandoned in six or eight of the northern provinces overrun by the Carlist troops, and elsewhere the work was interrupted by armed bands and despotic officials—the progress made was scarcely less remarkable.

On the 29th December 1874 the Republic fell before "the great shout" of the armies which proclaimed Alfonso King

of Spain. A fortnight later the youthful monarch entered Madrid with "the good wishes of all Europe" and the blessing of the Pope. He had declared himself a Liberal, and one of the first acts of his Ministry was a distinct pledge that religious liberty should be maintained. But all the forces of reaction were sweeping the country back to the dark days of Papal supremacy. The purpose of the Government was shown in the closing of Protestant places of worship —opened again under the pressure of foreign protests; in the suppression of the evangelical journals—sanctioned again only under humiliating restrictions; in the practical repeal of civil marriage, with shameful retrospective disabilities and crying injustice to men who had renounced the authority of Rome. In the provinces the colporteurs were taunted by the priests with the cry that their time was short, and that "the besom of the new *régime* would soon sweep them and their books out of the land."

The Protestant Churches stood firmly by their principles. In Madrid conferences on points of doctrine, Bible classes, mothers' meetings, and other forms of evangelical activity were gradually developed, and the schools, with about 2000 scholars, were sufficiently disquieting to compel the priests to start Sunday schools and night schools in self-defence. In Seville there were 800 children under missionary instruction; in Valladolid between 100 and 140. Even the small congregations remained undaunted, and in one instance at least vindicated their claim to baptism for their children and Christian burial for their dead according to the rules of their own creed.

The new constitution came into force in July 1876, but the intolerance of Rome soon found the means of restricting and harassing the religious liberty which it conceded. The 11th Article declared Roman Catholicism the religion of the State, and while it provided that "no persons should be molested for their religious opinions or in the exercise of

their respective forms of worship," forbade any "ceremonies or manifestations in public" other than those of the State Church. Human ingenuity could not have devised a phrase more applicable to every contingency. In Madrid the Governor issued a notice for the removal of all signs and advertisements relative to worship, schools, sale of religious books. They were "public manifestations." Under cover of night the inscription on the large signs of the depôt—"Deposito General de la Sagrada Escritura"—was blacked out with the civic paint-brush, and an order was sent that the books should be withdrawn from the windows. It was so far obeyed that the open pages, which for years many a passer-by had stopped to read, were closed, and the titles were turned from the street. When he heard of the incident, the Prime Minister, Canovas del Castillo, expressed regret that such stringent measures had been taken, and encouraged the re-opening of the books; but in the circulars sent to its agents in the capitals of Europe the Government assumed full responsibility and justified the interpretation of the article. High legal opinion was consulted, but one of the jurists who drafted the clause declared that it meant whatever the Government of the day decided that it should mean. A fierce onslaught on the Protestant movement which appeared over the signature of Canovas in the *Madrid Gazette* placed the intentions of the Ministry beyond doubt; and a few days later a royal order confirmed the action of the Sub-Governor of Minorca, who had interrupted the service in the Wesleyan chapel at Mahon and fined two school-mistresses for walking with their pupils in the streets and allowing them to sing in school. The hint was not thrown away. A colporteur in Cadiz was accused by three priests with the "public manifestation" of selling in the market-place, though in that strongly anti-clerical city the charge was dismissed; and within a fortnight an *alcaldé* in the province of Badajoz put forth an edict bluntly prohibiting the sale of the Bible.

Thenceforth the operation of the clause was left to the caprice of every local magistrate. In some districts tacit permission was granted, and the colporteurs were practically free. In others a man arriving in a town in the morning might be challenged by a priest and carried off to the *alcaldé*: a licence was valueless against a judge's definition of a "public manifestation": he might be confined, possibly without food, all day till nightfall, and only then released on condition he left the place, while his stock would be taken away for transmission to the Governor. In such circumstances it was strange that the work was not completely paralysed; but day after day the Bibleman pursued his calling with amazing faith and patience. Accompany him in fancy for a moment! Now he is in Catalonia or Biscay —in the country lately harried by the Pretender, or he follows the captured Carlists to their place of banishment in Africa; now he is among the mountains and pine-woods of Oviedo, and sees the friars piling faggots for an *auto-da-fé* of Gospels and Testaments (even the Madrid papers, telling the story of these books wrung from the people, ask when such scandals shall cease); now he is plundered by gipsies, lashed to a tree, and left to his fate; now one of his colleagues dies, cared for by a single faithful friend. Nobody will help to bury a Protestant; at last some very poor neighbours are persuaded; the corpse is borne through a jeering rabble to the cemetery; the sexton insists that the whole twenty-four hours' interval from death must be completed; night falls; the friend is left alone in sorrow beside the coffin; one in the morning strikes before the poor Bibleman is laid in his grave.[1]

[1] "Protestant funerals are legalised," wrote Mr Reeves Palmer a few years later, "and furnish almost the only occasion upon which anything of a public manifestation of our religion is possible. Even this is more than the Jesuits can bear. The funeral procession is often obstructed, insulted, or stoned. When a child has been baptized in the Romish Church prior to its parents becoming Protestants, and is interred in the Protestant cemetery, every effort is used to procure the exhumation of the body for re-interment in the Romish cemetery."—*Report*, 1884, p. 79.

The same spirit of confidence, the same activity, prevailed in all departments of the agency. Fresh editions flowed from the press — another Family and Pulpit Bible with references, the Psalms in large type, 120,000 more Gospels. Under the supervision of Mrs Corfield, the first Spanish Biblewoman had begun to visit the poorest of the poor in Madrid. The Reports were sprinkled with many unfamiliar names—names of towns and villages where new ground had been broken ; names of additional friends and promoters of the cause—among them the Rev. W. Gulick of the American Foreign Missions Board, and the eloquent Don Cypriano Tornos, sometime a preacher of the Chapel Royal and a member of the brotherhood of the Escuelas Pias. A prayer-union, which included one hundred and fifty Spaniards in different parts of the country, combined in one common appeal to the Holy Spirit all who were labouring for the regeneration of Spain.

In the midst of these trials of faith the circulation of the agency fell to its lowest figures. Twenty-four colporteurs were employed, but their sales had declined from nearly 66,000 copies in 1871 to 20,800 in 1879-80, and the depôt issues for the year came to no more than 38,800. Yet even 38,000 copies was no insignificant circulation in Catholic Spain.

After six years of repressive rule Canovas resigned in February 1881, and a Liberal Ministry took office under Sagasta. The obnoxious 11th Article remained unchanged, but it was made clear that the law was to be read in its widest sense, "thereby rendering homage to the inviolable rights of the human conscience." In the Madrid district the *alcaldés*, some twenty in number, were superseded by men of broader views, and though similar changes were carried out more slowly in the other provinces, the effect of the new policy was soon observed in the freer movements of the colporteurs. It was not yet possible to reblazon the blank sign of the depôt, but in a little while the open pages

were turned daily in the windows. Bishops still fulminated against the Society; *curas* incited to outrage, magistrates abused their powers, but there were signs of a stirring of men's minds which, if they would accept the written Word for their guidance, were of good omen for Spain. The Ministry was reconstructed in response to the popular aspiration for liberty, and in his last report of the agency Mr Corfield dwelt hopefully on the freedom of discussion granted in the clubs and on the platform, and the strenuous movement in favour of civil marriage preceding the ecclesiastical ceremony as a means of checking the influence of the clergy over family life. As in other Roman Catholic countries, a sinister transition was taking place from superstition to materialism and infidelity, but since the revolution of 1868 Spain had made an astonishing advance in political and religious development, and the Word of God had been scattered so widely over the land that it seemed to him it would never again be uprooted.

Mr Corfield retired in broken health in 1883, and passed to his reward in 1885—another of the courageous and great-hearted agents whose service had extended over a quarter of a century. He was succeeded by the Rev. E. Reeves Palmer, M.A.; and in the latter part of the year Mr Charles Finch, assistant foreign secretary, visited Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, and other important centres; met most of the colporteurs—"earnest workers, willing to endure much for the Gospel's sake," who were greatly gladdened to hear of the interest taken in their welfare by the friends at home; and finished his tour at Gibraltar. The earliest grant to the garrison on the Rock was voted in 1807; a corresponding committee was formed in 1821; since then, with many changes, lapses, revivals, the Auxiliary had done invaluable service. On 3rd December 1883 was held the first public Bible meeting ever known in Gibraltar.[1]

[1] During the thirty years 21,453 copies of Scripture in various languages (£1490) were despatched to Gibraltar from the Bible House; and £180 was voted in aid of colportage.

As the period closed, the prospects of the Society were once more overshadowed. On the 18th January 1884 Canovas del Castillo returned again to power.

It may now be noted that the direct expenditure on Spain during the thirty years amounted to £71,690, and the receipts to £17,638, or 24·6 per cent. of the outlay. From its foundation in 1868, the Madrid agency issued 983,062 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions in Spanish.[1]

In 1874 Portugal felt the vibrations of the civil strife in Spain. Among the ignorant masses of the population there was a wild idea abroad that Carlist victories would bring about the restoration of the Papal power, that Dom Miguel[2] would ascend the throne of Portugal, the Church would regain its former splendour, and the old days of visions, miracles, and pilgrimages would return. Carried away by these extravagant hopes, the priests broke out into acts of open violence, seized the books of the colporteurs, dragged the unoffending men before the justices, and frequently drove them out of town and village to the peril of their lives. Scant redress could be obtained even through the British Embassy, for the chief sufferers were not British subjects, and a curious theory seemed to be held of the rights of British property when it took the form of Bibles and Testaments.

The excitement gradually subsided, and in the lull of clerical aggression the real disposition of the people in many parts was evident enough. In Lisbon there were several congregations of Bible-reading Romanists—men who would not admit that they were Protestants, but who, in

[1] During the fourteen years, 1870-84, covered by regular statistics, 829,000 copies were circulated in the country, and of these about 250,000 were supplied to the Scottish Bible Society. The extent to which the Scriptures were distributed in Spain prior to the revolution of 1868 cannot be ascertained. Between 1854 and 1868, however, the Society printed 454,292 copies in Spanish. From 1868 to 1884 it produced 369,552 copies, apart from the large editions printed in Madrid. During the thirty years, therefore, its total output was 1,806,906 copies. Add to this the number printed in the first half century 273,606, and we find that in 1884 the Spanish Scriptures provided by the Society from the beginning reached an aggregate of 2,080,512 copies.

[2] Son of the usurper of 1828, who issued at this juncture a quasi-manifesto pledging himself to the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline and the temporal power.

their weariness of Jesuit intrigues and Infallibilist claims, gathered on Sundays and week-days to seek for a purer faith in God's own Word. In the press the journalist denounced "the profligacy of the Great Apostasy"; pictured the prosperity and power of the nations which exalted the Bible, while Spain and Portugal lagged far behind in the march of civilisation; and pointed the bitter moral, "The difference is not in the Book—that is the same in every land—but in the retention or renunciation of Romish priest-craft." On the stage the dramatist "enscened" the home life ruined by the confessor—ties severed, affections estranged, the father dying of a broken heart, the patrimony of the children bequeathed for Masses and scooped into the coffers of the Church. Press, stage, and Bible Society were branded by the Patriarch of Lisbon as a confederacy, subsidised with Protestant gold, for the corruption of the people and the overthrow of religion.

The possibility of combining Portugal and Spain in a single agency had been considered by the Committee, but the time did not yet seem opportune, and in November 1876 the Rev. Robert Stewart relieved Mr Tugman and the corresponding committee of their charge. As minister of the Presbyterian church in Lisbon he knew the needs and character of the people, and had watched the progress of the work since 1866. His first report was a cheering retrospect.

"Ten years since (he wrote) I found your Society just striking root in the land, and scarcely any evidence of fruit from its labours. In Lisbon there existed one little company of professing Christians, who met for worship in the house of Mrs Roughton; in Oporto, by the Christian efforts of Mr James Cassels, a few had been brought to prize the Word of Truth. Go now where you will, in cities or villages, evidences are given by some that the Word of God has reached them. . . . Little or nothing is done outside of cities to educate the mass of the people, but when the Bible gets into the hands of one reader, many come to hear"—

and the hearers soon became readers. And besides the

quiet teaching in the schools and the secret changes in the districts traversed by the colporteurs, there were the broad results—

"Lisbon, with four places of worship where many worshipped at the feet of Christ; Oporto, with three places in or near the city; Portalegre, Ilhão, Figueira, Rio de Morno near Cintra, Marinha, Coimbra, regularly visited for ministration and meeting. . . . Put what credit you choose on the preachers of the Word and organisers of congregations, the primary influence is the scattering of the Word itself."

Of these matters historians take little account, but at the time, as we have seen, the great ecclesiastics were wrathfully aware of the impulse they gave to the reform of abuses and the enlargement of the national life.

In 1879 the sway of the Church was checked by two important measures. Civil registration superseded the certificate of the priest for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Up to that date the law of Portugal ignored the status, even the existence, of *Acatholicos* (non-Catholics), and a convert's profession of Protestantism entailed the loss of civil rights. Education, too, was made compulsory, but parents were accorded the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction, which was, of course, Roman Catholic. In their bitter resentment the clergy attempted reprisals. One of the colporteurs was tried and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for having spoken against the State religion sixteen years before; another narrowly escaped by pointing out passages in the Bible and asking his accusers to read them in answer to the questions meant to entrap him. Such incidents, however, excited the interest of the people, and did the cause more good than harm. The Men of the Book went bravely about their daily work, travelling in all directions and meeting amid their hardships with many a cheering incident. The priest with the spear—a formidable old enemy—now came to ask for the Word of Life: "I am quite changed in my ideas now." "I will swear on the

Bible," said the blacksmith, who refused to take oath on the Missal, which was not prescribed by the civil code. "This is the man I was near sending to prison," said the *administrador*, as he purchased a copy. Was the colporteur refused a lodging at his accustomed inn because the priest threatened excommunication? Here were food and rest at a country house which he had been used to hasten past in fear. Did the *curas* gather his books and burn them? Here were two *padres* who had been brought to a better mind by reading Gospels which had escaped the fire. And from towns where the Gospel had been read but never yet preached requests for pastors bore witness to the efficacy of distribution.

In Lisbon a Biblewoman was visiting the hospitals and the poor. The depôt had been removed to a more advantageous position; and in 1881 a sub-depôt was opened in Oporto in co-operation with the Religious Tract Society. And yet another pioneer had penetrated distant valleys and wooded defiles where till lately had been heard only mule-bells or the shrieking wheels of the huge-horned bullock-team. "The priests fear the power of steam," wrote Mr Stewart, "as much as they do that of the Scriptures." It brought new notions, new manners, broke the bondage of the people, revolutionised their parishes. "Fuge, homens, fuge!" ["Flee, men, flee!"], cried one of them to the villagers laying the line—"esta obra é do diabo" ["This work is of the devil"]. When in a little while the people who heard him curse the railway saw him travelling on it, they applied the lesson to the colporteur. For all the *cura's* maledictions the books might be as good as the train.

The period was not allowed to close without another outburst of hostility. The return of the Society of Jesus under sanction of the Government led in 1882 to a retrograde enactment, that all who had been baptized in the Roman

Catholic Church should be buried according to its rites. A brutal and cowardly device, which enabled the priest to snatch the little dead child from the sorrowing father and mother who had abandoned the creed of Rome. Later, the Papal party displayed their power in the Cortes. A bill granting toleration and protection to all religious denominations found no more than twelve supporters, and the measure was thrown out—to the jubilation of Leo XIII., who sent his apostolic benediction. In other respects the activity of the clergy was more helpful than hurtful. They started opposition schools, which prepared the young to read — Bibles, perhaps, some day. They put into circulation the Bishop of Coimbra's translation of the New Testament, which, if it attacked the heresies of Protestants, at least proved the genuineness of their Scriptures.

The work of the agency during these years was not confined to the Continent. It was in 1846 that Dr Kalley's persecuted flock in Madeira loosed sail in quest of a free country. In 1859 a correspondent was once more distributing the Society's grants among the shipping in Funchal Bay. Seven years later an attempt to open a Bible store was prevented by the ferocity of the mob and the intolerance of the bishop and the civil authorities. In 1874, 208 copies were circulated; an experienced colporteur, Martinho Vieira, arrived in 1876, and in the next year Mr Stewart visited the island, which had then a thousand priests in a population of 150,000. Few books were sold, but Vieira did much for the little body of believers in Madeira — led them in worship, counselled them in difficulties, comforted them in sorrow, visited them in sickness. On his death in 1879 Mr G. W. Smart, who had long helped among the sea-faring men, was put in charge, and the distribution exceeded 1100 copies. A joint depôt for the Society and the Religious Tract Society was inaugurated by Earl Fortescue in January 1882, and

later in the year, Manoel Melin, one of the exiles of Dr Kalley's old church, returned from Illinois to labour as a colporteur-evangelist amid the scenes of his youth.

Supplies were conveyed to the Cape Verd and the Canary Islands in 1876. Nine years before that date, in 1867, two colporteurs landed in the Azores, but were obliged to withdraw after the distribution of some 200 Bibles and Testaments. In the spring of 1876 the veteran, Patrocinio Diaz, reached San Miguel, and remained till December in the following year, travelling among the people and passing in open boats to the smaller islands. Another colporteur relieved him in 1878, but he returned in 1880. When his health failed three years later it was only "by great pressure and amid many tears" that he was persuaded to leave the islands even for a time. Clerical hatred was as implacable as ever, but it was now possible to sell the Scriptures openly, and on Christmas Day 1883 a joint depôt was opened in San Miguel.

It remains to mention the progress made in regard to versions. A revised and modernised edition of Almeida, with alternative readings and the most important references, appeared in 1875 and was reissued in 1877. Attention was directed again to Figueiredo's, which, though based on the Vulgate, was little loved by the clergy. It was the version preferred in all the Protestant churches in Portugal, and had been the chief instrument in awakening the people to a religious life in Brazil. No definite steps, however, were taken until Mr Finch's visit in 1883, when the aid of several Portuguese scholars was obtained for the revision of the Gospel of St Luke.

The expenditure on Portugal from the founding of the agency in 1864 amounted to £31,646. The receipts did not exceed £4000, or 12 per cent. of the outlay. There were issued from the central depôt 136,463 copies of Scripture, of which little less than 80,000 was distributed

by colportage. Outside these figures several thousands of copies were sent out to other agencies, chiefly to South America.[1]

Spain and Portugal! The conditions in which the work of the Society was done, the effects which it produced, are reflected as in a mirror in the following story of a colporteur's grave. In January 1883 died Manoel Vieira de Souza, who had served since the formation of the agency. He passed away suddenly at Barcellos in the north-west province. The priests and the authorities arranged that the body should be buried in the darkness of the night, without service or ceremony. News of the death, however, had reached Mr Stewart; an evangelical minister arrived at Barcellos the next morning, and the scheme of the priests was thwarted. Surrounded by a multitude of sympathisers, the coffin was borne to the cemetery; and at the grave side the Word of God was read and prayer offered that God might bless the work of him who now rested from his labours. The newspapers described the funeral and testified to Manoel's worth: "It will be difficult for the Bible Society to find such another man to fill the place of Vieira—so quiet, humble, patient a spirit that we all might covet the same for ourselves." But the grave had scarcely closed before the priests cast about to rouse the superstitious terrors of the people so that they might have the body exhumed. They spread a rumour that the spirit of the heretic haunted the cemetery—that the very earth was casting out the body of the Bible-vendor. A "week of prayer" was held to obtain the removal of "this great scandal to their religion, this pollution of the burying-place of Catholics." Within a fortnight of Manoel's death the church bells were tolling for a shameless desecration. Ventura the guitar-maker heard them in his shop, wondering who had died. He had known Manoel; had repulsed him

[1] In all, 439,190 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions in Portuguese were printed for the Society between 1854 and 1884, and the aggregate from the beginning now reached 517,272 volumes.

again and again with the words, "I want none of your false books"; had nodded grimly on being informed of his death —"A very good thing! an end to *his* selling false books; they might throw him into the river." As the bells tolled a neighbour came up gleefully to say that the priests were going to dig up the body and drop it into a pit in unconsecrated ground. Then the horror of that vindictive insult to the dead fell on the guitar-maker. "No," he said, "that shall not be. They have to do with me now. Not a clod shall be moved. I will go to the cemetery, and others with me. The first priest who dares touch the grave shall be thrown down." The *padres* were warned; they knew the character of the man; the project was abandoned, and the excitement died down. Ventura, who as a shepherd lad had had little teaching, went to a night school, bought a Bible, and became an ardent student. Day by day he perceived his trade slipping from him in fanatical Barcellos, and another colporteur helped him to remove to Oporto, where he was granted some share in evangelistic work. The months went by; 2nd November came round—"All Souls' Day"—when wreaths and tokens of remembrance are laid on the dead. Manoel's grave was found to have been most beautifully decorated. Four men, it appeared, had got leave from the proper authority, and one of the four had many months before bought a Testament from Manoel—and torn it to shreds. He, too, became "a staunch defender of the Truth."

CHAPTER XIV

ANOTHER START IN AUSTRIA

We return to the Austrian Agency in 1867.

Liberalism was in the ascendant. The autonomy of Hungary was reinstated. Religious equality and the repression of ecclesiastical arrogance had become burning questions. New laws regarding civil marriage, education, and the registration of baptisms broke the tyranny of Rome in the most vital matters of personal liberty. To use the words of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Concordat, formally abolished a few years later, was already "torn up in the Reichsrath."

But while in the kingdom of St Stephen the restoration of self-government gave a wider range and a promise of security to Bible-work, the movement towards intellectual and spiritual freedom in Austria released an unprepared people from the only moral restraint they had learned to obey. The rebound from such slavery was appalling. Thousands plunged into licentiousness, thousands into open infidelity.[1] The pomp and pageantry of a sensuous worship remained, but the vaunted piety of Austria showed itself a hollow semblance of faith and principle. Such utter disregard of public and private morality, such coarseness and blasphemous profanity in the press, such open and daring profligacy had rarely been known in any country calling itself Christian. The Roman hierarchy were furious at their loss of power, and came as near revolt as they dared. Dismayed, too, by the social upheaval, and anxious to dissociate themselves from the consequences of their fatal supremacy, they blamed,

[1] In Bohemia there were four instances in which Christians embraced Judaism.

as the primary cause of the disorders they could not check, "the Reformation, which had taught people to read the Scriptures and explain them according to the dictates of reason."

At such a juncture the Word of God, given free course, might have been of incalculable blessing to Austria; but the position of the Society was scarcely affected by the changes which had taken place. Every attempt to loosen the conditions which obstructed the activity of the agency met with delays and disappointments traceable to a subtle and far-reaching influence.[1] Licences in Austria did not enable the colporteur, like his colleague in France and Germany, to open his wallet and sell to any number of purchasers on the spot; he was allowed merely to show his books and take orders for them. Nor did these permits which legalised his calling secure him the protection of the law. The men were roughly handled, fined, bound in chains, thrust into loathsome prisons; but the intervention of the Minister for War in one flagrant case of arrest and confiscation on the Military Frontier, warned high officials of the risk of exceeding their commission.

As the time passed, the authorities were convinced that the objects of the Society were neither political nor controversial. A good effect was apparently produced by a petition from the Synod of the Lutheran Church in Bohemia on behalf of Bible circulation. A more friendly spirit prevailed among those in power, and as far as possible the way was cleared of all legal obstacles. In 1869 sanction was obtained for access to Protestant prisoners, and the Oberkirchenrath (the Royal Board of Protestant Worship) gratefully undertook the distribution of the Scriptures in a large number of State prisons and country jails. The

[1] The original law affecting colportage extended to all printed matter. From the first facilities were given for the sale of Roman Catholic prayer-books, catechisms, etc., and the Society sought for the impartial extension of the same privileges to Bible circulation.

submission of multitudes of devout Romanists was severely strained in 1870 by the amazing dogma of Papal Infallibility, and in that of all years the inscription "Depôt of the British and Foreign Bible Society" appeared for the first time over the premises of the agency. It was in itself a trifling detail, but it connoted the mighty changes which had given the Society a legitimate and open position in the capital of the empire.

In 1871 a Bill to legalise colportage in the widest sense of the word was introduced in the Austrian Parliament with the co-operation of several members. The House dissolved before the subject was reached, but happily at that moment the moderation of the authorities left little to be desired. Another appeal for permission was presented to the Reichsrath in 1874. It was accepted by the Committee on the Press Laws, and a Bill authorising Bible distribution was promised; later, indeed, full licences, revocable at will, were issued for several small districts in Austria proper; but time passed, and after numberless petitions and remonstrances addressed to the Government, the measure, which would have put the work of the agency on the same footing as in Hungary, and which had received the assent of the Lower House, was lost in the Upper House in 1877. Thenceforth nothing remained but to accept the conditions imposed, and leave the result in the hands of God.

Meanwhile advantage had been taken of every opening. In Vienna itself, where large numbers gathered before the depôt windows, and more than one person stood uncovered as he earnestly read the open page of the Bible, the priesthood, who made no attempt to check the sale of pernicious literature, were unmeasured in their denunciations against the distribution of the Scriptures, and the press re-echoed their unscrupulous charges and menaces. The privilege of sale was refused to all denominations alike at the great International Exhibition of 1873, and gratis distribution in

the public thoroughfares was forbidden by the police regulations; but the Society was allowed to display its splendid library of versions, and many thousands of its catalogues, "Brief Views," and "Specimens of Languages" were circulated among the vast concourse of people, speaking a variety of tongues and wearing the costumes of many nations. Among the visitors to the Bible stand were a gentleman and young lady who asked many questions, listened attentively to the story of the Society's world-wide enterprise, and marked several copies to be sent to them. It was the father of the Emperor of Austria and his granddaughter Gisela.

One of the many strangers from the Far East was a commissioner for Japan to the Exhibition. Seven years earlier his daughter, who had been sent to America for her education, had urged him in a letter to obtain a Bible and to read it. Now as he stood before the array of the Society's translations, he was struck with wonder that so much had been made of a single book. He bought a copy in Chinese; in his journey through Europe he compared the three prevailing forms of Christianity with the Scriptures; and on his return to Yeddo he received baptism from the American missionaries. The next suggestion of his daughter was more readily adopted: he bought one of the temples of his old heathen gods, and turned it into a place of Christian worship.

An attempt to establish Sunday schools in the capital was frustrated by the devices of the clergy, but in 1874 meetings for Bible-reading were readily sanctioned by the authorities: "for so good a purpose we would gladly see fifty rooms opened in the city." This, however, was one of the last concessions yielded in the capital.

Away in the provinces the colporteurs came now and again upon quiet spots where the creed of the Reformation still glimmered amid the Papal darkness. Rauch told how in Upper Austria he discovered a little company of believers,

who for years had upheld "the clear testimony of Christ's finished work," delivered to them from the days of persecution. "A holy shudder seized him" when their sacred books, some of them two centuries old, which had been handed down from father to son, were placed in his hands. The home of another colporteur was in Styria, where it was still nothing rare, when old houses were pulled down, to find the Bible or some other precious volume concealed in the walls. The hiding-place on his grandfather's farm was a hollow in one of the heavy logs which supported the long stone bench near the entrance; loose bricks in the house wall enabled it to be reached from the inside; and when the inquisitors had ransacked every room they sat down to rest on the slab which covered the object of their search.

Once in a way some simple and kindly priest gave the Gospel a Christian welcome: "Bring your gracious burden to church on Sunday; it is the feast of our patron St Martin; many people will be there, and it will do them good to be acquainted with the Holy Scriptures." But for the most part the priests spared neither time nor money to secure the destruction of the books bought. They were burnt in the Styrian Alps; burnt in Carinthia, where, however, there were about a score of Protestant congregations, and the colporteur was received as a friend under many a pastor's roof; exchanged for "miraculous medals" and the like, and burnt in Trieste, where the better educated were beginning to quote Scripture against the abuses of the clergy. As for the common people, illiteracy was almost as prevalent as superstition. Testaments slightly soiled by the bursting of an oil-cask at sea, they would not touch as a gift: "Oil-spots! Would you bring us within danger of Extreme Unction then?"

From the Trieste depôt, opened in 1867 in place of that at Ragusa, the agency operated by means of colporteurs and correspondents in Dalmatia and Croatia, Istria, and

The Revd Charles Jackson

Carniola; and numberless ships from all parts of the Mediterranean frequented the busy sea-port.

In the Dalmatian insurrection of 1869 permission was granted, with the thanks of the War Office, for distribution of the Scriptures among the sick and wounded lying in various hospitals, and in one unsafe district a cavalry escort was provided.

About half the population of the old kingdom of Illyria were Slavs; and in 1869-70 the Gospels of Mark and Matthew were issued in Sloven, their native dialect.[1] The Trieste journals were forbidden to advertise the books; several passages were read out with jeers and laughter by ribald maskers at the Carnival; everywhere the priests were in active opposition; but in little over a year 2700 copies were sold. The Scriptures in various languages were placed in the rooms and cells of the city prison with the approval of the Attorney-General, and the Surveyor of Taxes reduced the charges on the depôt to the lowest scale permitted by the law.

When the Austrian Arctic Expedition sailed in 1872 no room could be found for a priest who volunteered, but the Word of God was considered indispensable. Copies in German, Croat, and Italian were obtained from the Trieste depôt, and a chapter was read daily during the long sojourn in the ice-locked polar seas.

In the coves and creeks of the Dalmatian coast were found a surprising number of Bibles brought from home by British ships, but the colporteurs travelled many a day without being able to sell a copy in the native tongue.

In Croatia, illiterate, gaily licentious, Papal in the extreme,

[1] The first Sloven translation of the New Testament, the work of Primus Truber, once a Romish priest, afterwards a minister of the Reformed Church, was published in 1577. His successor, George Dalmatin, issued the Old Testament with the help of Melancthon in 1584. In 1599 only one-fifth of Laibach, the capital of Carniola, was Roman Catholic. Twenty-nine years later "all non-Catholic gentlemen and farmers, and all nobles, male and female," were ordered to quit the Empire within the year, and so the Reformation was trampled out in these parts.

nearly 6000 copies were circulated in 1870; and in the fair city of Warasdin what joy there was in meeting evangelical Christians brought to the Truth by some earlier distribution of the German Scriptures! Despite priestly vigilance and the violence of angry crowds, every village and cluster of huts was visited in Carinthia. In the romantic valleys of the Tyrol,

> "Where each house, like some missal old and quaint,
> Was blazoned o'er with prophet, seer, and saint,"

the books were cursed in the pulpit and extorted in the confessional. A retired officer of the navy, a Roman Catholic, who took out a licence for the sale of Vulgate versions recognised by Church, was so unnerved by the persecution inflicted on his family that his health gave way and his depôt had to be closed.

The work in Tyrol was taken up by Karl Rauch in 1870. Now for a moment we see again the rocks and fir-woods, the pastures and snow-peaks of the Zillerthal. Thirty years had gone since the Protestant exiles found a home in Silesia under the care of the Countess of Reden;[1] but Rauch climbed by paths "steep as a flight of stairs" to the high village with its school, inn, and lovely little green-spired church, where most of them had lived, and conversed with some of their relatives, "none of them believers." He pushed on as far south as Trent of the famous Council, as far north as the shores of the Lake of Constance. The doors of churches and chapels were placarded with interdicts, holding up to public scorn the State official who had signed the colporteur's permit. The licence granted for six months was not renewed until 1872. Once more Rauch ranged through the Tyrol to the lonely huts in the high snow region, so busy that "we had to

[1] The Countess died at Buchwald, 14th May 1854, interested to her very last day in her beloved Bible Society. *See* her charming biography, *A Pietist of the Napoleonic Wars and After* (Murray).

send him box after box." He set out on his fourth tour in the spring of 1874. His weekly returns suddenly ceased in October. Some time later his stick and note-book were picked up on the banks of a river a few miles above Botzen. Three months afterwards his body was discovered, stripped and mutilated. Two of his colleagues volunteered for the Tyrol. They found no clue to the mystery of his death, but then and in later years they heard his name blessed in many a village and many a mountain cot by those to whom he brought the light of the Gospel.

The city and duchy of Salzburg, shadowed by memories of ruthless persecution, were entered in 1871. The sale of a few hundred copies raised a fierce clamour in the press; the brief licence was not renewed, and when another permit was granted five years later, the colporteur was arrested, his books were confiscated, and the country was closed once more for many a day.

The Czechs were passionately agitating for self-government, for the coronation of the Emperor at Prague with the crown of St Wenceslas as King of Bohemia. Joyful commemoration of the quincentenary of the birth of John Huss was held in 1869, but what seemed the beginning of a strong evangelical revival proved to be little more than a blaze of political fervour. It kindled, nevertheless, new zeal in some of the Bohemian Churches, though a large number of pastors remained strangely indifferent to the spread of the Gospel, and in many Protestant homes the Bible was unknown or merely regarded as an heirloom from old times. On the other hand, while the lives of the colporteurs were threatened, and their books cast to the flames, a growing eagerness to purchase copies was observable among Roman Catholics. For five years — 1867 - 72 — a depôt and colporteur were maintained at Carlsbad in the western corner of Bohemia; and besides a considerable sale among the Jews, Russians, and Poles

who crowded to the springs, such a desire for the Truth was stirred among "a goodly number of inquirers" that they invited one of the Moravian evangelists to instruct them: "We want spiritual food; but we have no shepherd, and we are compelled to listen to the croaking of some ravens, who have no better advice to give us than to settle down quietly in Babylon, where he dwells who says of himself that he is infallible."

The German Vulgate version of the New Testament by Kistemaker was prescribed by the Imperial School Board at Prague, and happily the agency was able to supply it in a cheap form to Roman Catholic schools and colleges. Here, too, indeed, as in many other fields experience proved the spiritual efficacy of the Vulgate and the necessity of using versions derived from it.

The sale of nearly 4000 copies to the military in 1876 was made a pretext for an attempt to suppress the work in Bohemia. The officers had readily granted passes, expressed their thankfulness, even taken part in the distribution; but the colporteurs were charged with espionage, arrested, deprived of their licences. Some secret influence seemed to be putting all the forces of obstruction into motion. The men were harassed on every side, prosecuted, fined, kept waiting for their papers; but the letter of the law, such as it was, was exacted by the agent's appeals to the higher courts and the supreme authorities. Amid the trouble and annoyance, his heart was cheered by the steady progress of evangelical work, and the manifest determination of many people to obtain possession of the Word of God. A poor Roman Catholic woman came in to Prague from five-and-twenty miles away to find a Bible; and one militant priest who had burnt sixty-seven volumes—"every one made on the devil's last"—was powerless to prevent his parishioners from buying. So the cause advanced in Bohemia and Moravia.

In 1868 Lemberg, the triple seat of Greek, Roman Catholic, and Armenian archbishops, was chosen as a depôt-centre for the mingled races—Ruthenians, Germans, Poles, Jews—in number from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000, spread over Silesia, Galicia, and Bukowina. A people poor, ignorant, spiritually destitute: a country with few roads, in winter almost impassable away from the main routes; in whose smaller towns and villages the stranger would vainly seek accommodation for the night. Trade was everywhere in the hands of the Jews, and everywhere, though the yoke of their rabbis lay heavy upon them, they came for Bibles and Old Testament portions, and at times listened attentively when told of the Crucified Saviour. In 1876 nearly twice as many copies were sold to Jews as to any other nationality.

Rome was fiercely on the alert, but the colporteur sold at the very portals of Lemberg Cathedral, where all the year round throve a brisk trade in crucifixes, holy-water shells, legends and pictures of saints. Priests took their stand near his stall at the giddy fairs, and warned off the curious. Hark to the pipes and cymbals in yon far corner of the square, where a gaudy booth is hung with flaming pictures of the wonders inside! Hundreds enter; but notice those who come out. They all have books in their hands—little books that look very familiar to us. "Are not these our New Testaments and our Portions? The priests are off the scent, and behold! whilst they are stirring up police and magistrates and lawyers and the rulers of the land against our colporteurs, others unknown to us and unbidden by us are doing work for us." These showmen with their panoramic views travel up and down the country. Times go hard, business is slack. To draw good houses the owners promise every visitor a prize, and they have hit on the idea of using Scripture Portions. In all probability they can find nothing cheaper than these books; yet who knows what divine blessings may have gone forth with the hundreds

of copies scattered far and wide by these spangled and gaily-coloured auxiliaries?

The Gospel of St Luke in Ruthen was published in Latin and in Cyrillic characters in 1874. It was the first page of God's Word that had appeared in the language; it was the beginning, too, of a Ruthenian literature, which was enriched nine years later by the translation of Shakespeare. The Greek Church had encouraged the purchase of the Old Sclavonic version, but most of the higher clergy were unfavourable to a text in the common tongue. Thanks, however, to the zeal of a Bible-loving priest, a movement sprang up among the people; copies sold rapidly; and the Gospel of St John was issued in the more popular Cyrillian. In 1878 the yearly circulation in these provinces exceeded 7000 copies. Little Bible meetings were held, here and there a Sunday school was started; and in one rude spot where there was neither pastor nor church, numbers gathered at nightfall in the colporteur's room all through the hard winter. "We used to call ourselves Christian," it was said in a town some distance from Lemberg; "now we have learned how great was our former darkness."

Beyond the Austrian frontier the agency had charge of Russian Poland. Difficulties arose occasionally at a distance from the capital, but after close observation the authorities at Warsaw had satisfied themselves as to the unquestionable character of the Society's work. On the invitation of the military chiefs Pastor Lösewitz of Riga visited the Lettish soldiers in Poland in 1868. Supplied with the Lettish Testament and Psalms, of which the Committee had printed a large edition at his urgent request, he was received with the liveliest joy, and 880 copies were distributed gratis at the expense of the State. Specially bound volumes were presented to the Governor of Warsaw, and through him to the Grand Duke and the Czar. The use of Russian became more general among the people. Large orders were received

from the Russian colleges into which the ancient Sclavonic had been introduced. Among Polish Protestants the Dantzic version had long been current; an edition of Wuyk's New Testament, with marginal readings against a few passages, was circulated among the Roman Catholic population. While, unhappily, too many Protestant pastors held aloof, the Church of Rome steadily opposed the work. Still there were many bright scenes in districts where the Reformed faith prevailed; and even where Roman Catholicism took its most fervid forms — in the crowded pilgrimages to "the black Mother of God" at Czenstochau, in which thousands uncovered long before they reached the town, dragged themselves forward on their knees, taught their little children to lie prostrate on their faces for hours—many a Testament was carried home into remote parts of Poland.

Most remarkable was the attitude of the Jews. The complete Bible was admitted into their schools. Jewish women, who would once have thought it sinful to look at a strange book, gathered round the depôt windows. Once at the great fast of Yom Kippur a number of Jews entered the depôt. For years they had observed the Day of Atonement in their synagogue, but had been brought no nearer to God; now they wanted to study His own book that they might learn how they should find a true reconciliation. In 1872 the Gospel of St Matthew, recast by the Talmudic scholar, Mr P. I. Hershon, from the New Testament translated for the London Jews Society, was published in Judæo-Polish, the only dialect in which it could be read by the mass of illiterate Jewish men and women in Central and Eastern Europe. St Luke and other Portions quickly followed, and the New Testament was completed in 1878.

For some months in 1868-69 it seemed doubtful whether Hungarian Independence was to mean anything more than a new name for an old *régime*. Mr Millard's memorial to

the Government for greater liberty of action was refused, and such rigorous conditions were at once imposed as almost to preclude colportage altogether. But the issues were too grave to be surrendered without a struggle. A second appeal, powerfully supported by the Protestant Hungarian Bishops of Pesth, Presburg, and Klausenburg, was presented, and after a period of disquieting silence was favourably answered on nearly every point. Free licences were granted for the whole kingdom and the annexed provinces of Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia.[1] The local authorities were entitled to inspect the licences, but they had no power to interfere so long as the work was confined to Bible circulation. From that time onward the mere name of the Society insured a kind and courteous attention from the highest officials.

The opposition of the Romish clergy was strong and outspoken, but where the Scriptures produced a religious revolution and the resolute Bible-readers defied comminations and magisterial decisions, the priests found that they could no longer enforce dogma and discipline at the point of the bayonet. A considerable section of the Reformed Churches held steadfastly to the truth of the Word, but the general condition of Protestants was deplorable. Scepticism and Science were hailed as the pilot-stars of humanity at the meeting of the Hungarian Protestant Association in 1872; the contents of the Bible were described as worthless myths; and one speaker declared, amid unchecked applause, that the time had come to discard the Apostles' Creed as a ridiculous anachronism.

Midway through the seventies cholera, which carried off its tens of thousands, financial disasters, ruined harvests, widespread suffering, added to the bewildering conditions of the work. The world seemed topsy-turvy. One read

[1] In Slavonia, and especially in Croatia, however, difficulties were caused by certain Austrian regulations which survived the annexation to Hungary.

on the same page of the immense despair which sought refuge in suicide, and of Protestant pastors stamping out revival movements due to Bible-reading; of the distribution of the Word of God in prisons, and of an agitation to banish it from the schools; of Protestants offering their books for sale to the colporteurs, and of an increasing demand for the Scriptures among Roman Catholics, who were sending their children to the Sunday schools; of one-third of the country under martial law on account of burglaries and highway robberies, and of troops of children gathering about the colporteur in the evenings that they might learn his hymns, and bringing their parents to hear the singing. Was it strange that the work among the Jews fell far short of the success in Poland? "We have no objection to Christianity in principle," said a Rabbi; "but now, show us your Christians!"

In the picturesque regions of Transylvania the resources of the colporteurs were taxed by the multiplicity of tongues. The same legal freedom of action, and the same clerical hostility prevailed. When the revised Rouman Testament appeared in 1868 the work of the Society was denounced by the Bishop of the United Greek Church (in union with Rome), and eloquently commended to a great concourse of pastors and schoolmasters by the Hungarian Bishop of the Protestant Church of Transylvania. The Apocrypha controversy was revived in 1875 both by the priests and the Ruthenian pastors, who condemned the Society's Bibles as incomplete. The Roumanians, however, gladly accepted the revised Bible, which had just been issued in their native language. On all sides indeed the people, despite their illiteracy, were favourably disposed; groups of readers and inquirers sprang up, and even for the numberless gipsies who roamed through the land Bible meetings were held.[1]

[1] The question of a Gipsy version was considered, but the number of dialects and the unlettered condition of the people prevented anything from being done.

From the first the Greek Metropolitan at Belgrade was hostile to the work of the Society in Servia. But the attacks in the press failed to stir up popular prejudice; the illegal action of the police was arrested; and the hasty prohibition against the importation and sale of the Scriptures was withdrawn. At this time (1862) the New Testament was the only part of the Bible in Serb. A version of the Psalms by Professor Daniçiç appeared in 1864, and was warmly received, notwithstanding the opposition in high places. Other books of the Old Testament followed, and in June 1868 a copy of the first Serb Bible was bound and inscribed for presentation to Michael Prince of Servia at the moment he was shot down during his evening walk in the forest of Topschidere. The volume was afterwards placed in the hands of his youthful grand-nephew and successor, Prince Milan—"a legacy, as it were, left by the august Prince, so untimely cut off."

Once more the Metropolitan assailed the Society. He indignantly urged the Government to prevent the circulation of a corrupt and unfaithful version. The courteous challenge of the agent to point out errors or inaccuracies was ignored, and without waiting for an official reply, he launched an interdict in which he required all bishops, priests, and heads of convents to report any one known to have intercourse with "a certain heretic, Victor"—the depositary at Belgrade. The more enlightened refused to submit. The Bishop of Pakrac, in Slavonia, frankly dissented: "You bring light to our people in their darkness, and surely we need not dread the light." The integrity of the version was acknowledged by a leading Roman Catholic review, and both Churches (Greek and Roman) were pressed to issue it in the form prescribed by their rules, "for if things are allowed to remain as they are, no prohibition will be of any avail." Even the modified Cyrillic character used by Daniçiç — "the new system"—which had been opposed by the clergy and ridiculed

in the press, was adopted by the Government as the standard, for Servia. With the Servian edition 5000 copies were printed in Roman type for Croatia,[1] and two years later a beautiful large-type Serb Bible with references left the press.

In 1870 the agency was specially exempted from the restrictive provisions of the new press law, and in 1872 an attempt of the Greek Church to put a stop to colportage was exposed and defeated. Meanwhile Mr Victor and his men ranged successfully afield in Servia, Slavonia, and part of Croatia. Education, in which the Scriptures found a place, made rapid progress; schools were multiplied; Mr Victor made the children his special care; the teachers were friendly, and, even at the risk of "losing their beards," the Greek priests in general were kindly disposed. Much was seen of the Nazarenes, a numerous and increasing sect both here and in Hungary, who from principle endured ignominy, stripes, and imprisonment rather than take military service. The Bible was their only book; the "simple Gospel of Jesus Christ" their religion; and their desire for the Scriptures naturally brought them in contact with the Belgrade depôt.

At the beginning of 1874, when the Servian circulation for ten years exceeded 76,000 copies, Roumania was transferred from the Turkish to the Austrian Agency. Mr Victor was removed to Bucharest, the Rouman capital; the Belgrade depôt was closed, but a supply of Scriptures was placed in charge of the tried colporteur Lichtenberger, and the district passed into the immediate supervision of Mr Millard at Vienna. An account of the earlier work in Roumania will be found in the next chapter. From its transfer it was continued on the same lines, but with a greatly expanded circulation, from the depôt-centres at Bucharest and Jassy, until Turkish oppression fired the train of risings and revolts which closed in the disastrous war with Russia.

[1] Croat was then merely Serb in Roman character. A new orthography was brought in by the Government in 1876, and a revised New Testament, in which obsolete words were changed, was published a year later.

In the autumn of 1875 the long-suffering Christian peasantry of Herzegovina were driven to despair by the bad harvest and the rapacity of their Moslem landlords and tax-gatherers. They took to the mountains, and kept soul and body together by raiding their oppressors. In Bosnia savage feuds broke out betwèen the Mohammedans and the Christians, and thousands of refugees fled to the Austrian frontiers. The first symptoms of insurrection in Bulgaria were quelled by the atrocities which sent a thrill of horror through Europe. Unable to restrain their people, Servia and Montenegro declared war against the Turks on the 1st and 2nd July 1876.

On the first rumour of hostilities preparations were made for Mr Victor and his men to take the field. They were not allowed to march with the troops, but the Servian War Office gave them access to the military hospitals. In three tours they swept south to the very edge of the battle-fields. On the roads they met straggling groups of wounded soldiers; they passed through towns resounding with trumpet-calls and the roll of drums, through villages crowded with peasant families whose homes had been destroyed by the enemy. Nineteen towns and sixty-five hospitals and lazarettes—the building sometimes a school-house, sometimes a country mansion—were visited, and 4188 copies of the Word of God were distributed gratis amid scenes of suffering and death. Dr Laseron of Belgrade was provided with 8000 or 9000 Servian Testaments at a nominal cost, and a number of other workers were supplied.

Thanks to the generosity of private friends the colporteurs were able at that stormy time to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Many a cup of cocoa and basin of broth was made for soldiers fallen by the wayside; and bread, blankets, wooden shoes were distributed among the poor Bosnians. One day a colporteur surprised his good wife at Agram by bringing home a troop of children whose parents had been

murdered by the Turks. The hearts of the townsfolk were touched, and in a little while numbers of boys and girls were adopted by the kindly people in Croatia and Slavonia. On the mountains above Ragusa and along the Dalmatian shores were hundreds of fugitives from Herzegovina—huddled in rude tents, begging their bread, all miserable. The colporteurs bought food for them, read them verses of hope and comfort, and gave portions of the Word of God to those who could read.

Russian volunteers had poured into Servia in thousands to the aid of their kinsmen and co-religionists. In Russia itself the excitement was intense; towards the end of the year 160,000 troops were mobilised; and when at length Turkey refused to submit to the surveillance of the Powers, the Czar gave the order to advance. Military distribution began in January 1877 among the contingents at Warsaw, at the great camp at Kischenev, at Balta, Odessa, and Tiflis. Upwards of 20,000 copies were sold before war was declared. It seemed a special providence that 10,000 Russian Bibles, and 113,000 New Testaments, Psalters, and Portions had just left the press at Vienna, and so relieved the strain put on the Holy Synod for large supplies.

When the Czar's forces entered Roumania the Odessa colporteurs who accompanied them passed into Mr Millard's charge, and Mr Watt, the agent for South Russia, was left free to attend to the army of the Caucasus. The incidents of the campaign recalled the Bible-work on the French battle-fields. Many a night without shelter, exposed to heat, cold, hard fare, and disease, the little band of sixteen were mercifully protected. They lost but one comrade, a young Russ, who died of typhus. On the Turkish side the Stamboul men stuck to their posts amid the red orgies of Circassians and Bashi-bazouks. When Rustchuk had fallen, the faithful Krzossa returned to his depôt. He found it standing untouched in a street of ruins. The rooms were

occupied by Russian officers, who treated him with distinction when they learnt who he was; and many a "God bless you!" "God bless those who sent you!" was heard when he set to work once more.

The crossing of the Danube cut off the Stamboul men from their base, and Bulgaria was annexed for the time to the Austrian Agency. Severe illness had compelled the Rev. Dr Thomson to leave Constantinople, but his place was admirably filled by his assistant, Mr Sellar. In November leave was granted him for a visit to the Russian prisoners in the capital. At the sight of the Scriptures in "Ruski," there was a cry of joy, and a rush upon the colporteur and his books. The poor fellows offered all they had for a Psalter or a Testament. Two months later another pass was reluctantly given. The cold weather had set in, and the three hundred prisoners were in a heart-breaking condition. Half of them were barefoot, a number had no coats, others no trousers; one who had been surprised in his tent at night shivered in a calico night-dress and a piece of sacking. Even the vile straw pallets left by the Turkish soldiers had not been changed. Little could be done by private assistance. The matter reached one of the Embassies; Mr Sellar was given *carte blanche* to do all in his power for the relief of the unhappy creatures; and the Porte was shamed into more humane treatment of its captives. His last interview with them was at Scutari at the moment of their embarking for home. Calling out several of the sergeants, he asked them to hand back to him all the books which they were leaving behind in the barracks. "Your books?" was the astonished and reproachful reply. "Our reminders of you? The Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ? If you wish it, we will leave out coats and boots and sacks; but the books! we keep *them* till the day we die." Stern voices gave the word of command; the band struck up; and Mr Sellar, in the

place of honour with the Turkish commandant and the Grand Duke's lieutenant, marched with them to their ship. These things were neither unknown nor forgotten in high places. In the course of the year Mr Sellar received a diamond ring from the Czar in recognition of his services to the Russian prisoners of war.

Meanwhile in Moscow and other towns, in the hospitals in Poland and along the banks of the Volga, the Word of God was distributed with the help of ladies of rank, nobles, and military officers, among the legions of sick and wounded. The decoration of the Red Cross was bestowed on Mr Kantor of the Warsaw depôt as an acknowledgment of the untiring solicitude of his daughter and himself. Several thousands of Gospels and as many New Testaments as could be procured were given away among the Ottoman prisoners as they were drafted into the interior. They returned with not unfriendly recollections of their conquerors, and with some glimmerings of what Christianity might mean: "They gave us food, and kind care, and clothes and books."

There are no complete figures to show the extent of these operations; but from the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war in April 1877 to the end of January 1879 upwards of 242,000 copies of Scripture, in fifteen languages, were circulated (over 97,000 by sale) among the troops in Roumania and Bulgaria, while the war issues from St Petersburg and Odessa amounted to 236,000—a total exceeding 478,000, or little less than half a million. The expenditure for books, carriage, and colportage was set down, on the lowest estimate, at £24,000.

Under the Treaty of Berlin, Austria was intrusted with the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were accordingly transferred to the agency of the Empire. The trusty depositary Tabory, who had passed safely through the Bosnian conflicts, held his ground till the Austrian troops forced an entry into Serajevo; and with them arrived three

intrepid Biblemen with a fresh stock of Scriptures. Liberty of conscience had been granted by the Treaty, but the usual Austrian restrictions were imposed on the Society, and at the close of the period a solitary colporteur was patiently labouring in Bosnia in the hope of better days.

The restoration of peace was followed by that year of dearth and suffering (1879) which left its traces all over Europe. In some parts of Austria Government relief was required to keep the people from starvation; in Poland men committed suicide in the hope of exciting compassion for their wives and little ones.

It was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Emperor's marriage, and on the 21st April a Bible, with an address of congratulation and good wishes from the Committee, was presented to their Imperial Majesties, and warmly acknowledged.

A deputation sent by the Evangelical Alliance to plead for a more genuine religious liberty was graciously received by the Emperor, and two years later the Centenary of the Edict of Toleration (13th October 1781) was celebrated by about two hundred and thirty Reformed and Lutheran churches.[1] But a free course for the Word of God seemed to be as far from realisation as it was nearly twenty years before. How could it be otherwise? Priestly ascendancy based on the superstition of the people was enormous, but the real power of the Church of Rome came from the political exigencies of the Government. The concession of licences was in the hands of the local authorities, and few of these had either the sense of justice or the moral courage to sanction the dissemination of the Scriptures. In the last years of the period increased rigour indicated the dominance of the spiritual overlord.

In Lower Austria, including Vienna, the military were

[1] Much kind feeling was caused by the distribution of 1700 Testaments among them in the name of the Committee.

forbidden to purchase. Every version but the German was struck out of the list of "samples" that might be shown by the Bible "traveller," and a year elapsed before the Central Government, yielding to an appeal strongly supported by the Royal Board of Protestant Worship, cancelled the decision. In Bohemia and Moravia, where the men might take orders, the priests obtained from the Post Office the names of subscribers, in order to interfere before delivery and payment. In the Tyrol, swarming with Jesuits expelled from France, even orders could not be taken. In Carinthia, in Styria, in Carniola, in Croatia, in Galicia (another Jesuit El Dorado), the work was harassed by priestly espionage, or mob-violence, or inquisitorial raids, or illegal arrests, or prosecution, or confiscation and withdrawal of licences.

More than once, when the law was violated and the lives of good men were jeopardised, the Committee thought of memorialising the Government; but these things, it was felt, were best left to the divine care. Enough that a blessing was evident in the progress made not only in Hungary, where prison-work was extending, and theological students and professors were teaching in the Sunday schools, and Moravian mission stations were springing up, but in Austria itself. The circulation in Bohemia—largely among Roman Catholics—was described as marvellous; even in Galicia, where only 13 per cent. of the population could read, the colporteur was blazing a track for the evangelist. In the last years of the period the circulation in the agency showed increase upon increase—in 1881 an increase of 8000, in 1882 an increase of 9700, in 1883 an increase of 19,200 copies.

A Bible and copies of *The Gospel in Many Tongues* were presented to King Charles of Roumania and his Protestant poet-queen "Carmen Sylva," on their coronation in 1881. A similar courtesy was paid to Prince Milan on his proclamation as King of Servia in March 1882. May, that

year, was marked by the wonderful preservation of the Society's vast stock of Scriptures, stored in the adjoining premises, when so many lives were lost in the burning of the Ring Theatre.

In the matter of versions, the revised Polish New Testament was issued in 1883. An edition of 10,000 copies of the New Testament, Károli's version, which had been revised by three distinguished Magyar scholars, left the press in the same year. In response to the entreaties of a Wendish population, many of them Protestants, among the mountains on the Styrian border, there was also printed a corrected edition of the New Testament and Psalms which appeared forty years earlier. In 1882 the Sloven New Testament, completed by Professor Stritar of Vienna, was published with his translation of the Psalms for a million of people, among whom the only Protestant was the colporteur, himself a convert.

From 1864 to 1884 the total distribution in the Austrian Agency exceeded 2,620,000 volumes, in upwards of a dozen languages, but chiefly in German, Hungarian, Czech, and Rouman. It was a striking fact that in the five years 1874-78 more Scriptures were sold in Hebrew than in Magyar or Bohemian. From 1871 to 1884, apart from Judæised versions, the Hebrew circulation numbered over 188,200 copies.

The accounts of the Austrian Agency began in 1866. From that date the expenditure amounted to £289,617, and the receipts to £83,194.

From the outset a warm interest was taken at home in the development of colportage. One good man provided a Bibleman's cot and potato-patch in Poland; two others presented £60 each for efforts in particular districts; and in 1869 Mr Robert Arthington of Leeds sent the agency the handsome donation of £200. By 1872 the staff had been doubled—forty-two tried men, several of them trained

at St Chrischona. In 1884 there were sixty in the field, all natives. Two had served for more than twenty-three, eight for more than fourteen, and four for more than ten years. In no country, probably, was the organised work more effectually supplemented by voluntary helpers.

CHAPTER XV

THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS

The Crimean victories and the safety of Turkey gave Christianity a prestige unknown in the annals of Islam. In February 1856 the Sultan issued the Hatti-Humayoun, which guaranteed his subjects a free choice between the Koran and the Bible, placed the evidence of a Christian on the same footing as that of a Moslem, and legalised the circulation of the Scriptures. In the pillared cloister of one of the great mosques was seen the novel spectacle of an old green-turbaned descendant of the Prophet offering the Bible for sale during the fast of Ramazan. The number of inquirers, occasional conversions, and the formation of groups of professed believers demonstrated that, for a time at least, a real freedom of conscience had been conceded.

On both sides of the Dardanelles the work of the agency depended on the co-operation of the missionaries and their colporteurs. In 1857 sixty stations and outposts of the American Board extended across Asia Minor to the Persian border; and from Constantinople and the sub-depôt at Smyrna consignments of Scriptures were constantly passing along the trade routes until this portion of the field was left entirely to American effort.

The Gospel of St Matthew, translated into Kurdish by Baron Sdepan, was issued in Armenian characters in 1856, and was so eagerly received at Diarbekir that an edition of the other Gospels speedily followed. The Kurds indeed had no books, had not even an alphabet, but there was a con-

siderable Armenian population which, though it had lost its native tongue, remembered its printed character.

From places far apart, where the Greco-Turkish and Armeno-Turkish versions were used, one heard of many instances of a new life springing up through the reading of the Word of God. But immunity was not always secured by the Sultan's charter. Near Broussa a Greek priest, who had become Protestant with about thirty of his people, was carried off in chains by order of the Bishop, and was only saved from banishment by the British Consul. At Mush another priest, who had distributed a box of Bibles, would have been stripped of his robes had not the people risen against the indignity.

Progress in European Turkey was retarded by the difficulty of obtaining suitable men, but south of the Danube two colporteurs were afield selling the Scriptures in Bulgarian, Modern Greek, Servian, and French ; and excellent service was rendered by the American missionaries, who had just settled at Adrianople, Varna, and Shumla. Though the Archbishop was openly hostile, other prelates were more largely endowed with the apostolic spirit, and in many churches the Gospel lessons were read in Bulgarian as well as the unintelligible ancient Greek. The Bulgarian people prized the Word of God in their own tongue ; they were anxious for the education of their children ; they were passionately set upon having their own National Church. In this last they succeeded in 1870.[1]

North of the Danube Mr S. Mayer, sometime of the London Jews Mission, travelled with two colporteurs over Wallachia and Moldavia. There the adverse influence of the Greek Church was little felt, and the Wallachian (Rouman) New Testament passed largely into circulation.

[1] It was the first outstanding event in their struggle as a people. "Early in the year 1870 the Bulgarian Church came into existence, with an Exarch of its own at Constantinople."—Holland Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*, p. 252.

There were book-centres at Jassy and Krajova, and small depôts at Widdin, Rustchuk, and Ibraila along the Danube. In 1857 Mr Barker visited Bucharest and was warmly received by his old friend Prince Alexander Ghika, who had sanctioned the first edition of the Rouman New Testament. Professor Aristias was commissioned to translate the Old. Genesis was finished and printed in the course of the year, and by the end of 1859 the Psalter was in the hands of the people. One of the most striking "signs of the times" was the advocacy of Scripture-reading and religious toleration by the Bucharest press: "It is the study of the Bible which makes a nation great."

So matters stood when Mr Benjamin Barker died at Constantinople, 20th September 1859. During nine-and-thirty years his hand had scattered more widely than any other the sacred writings which had awakened so many among the Jewish and Moslem people, and had led to the reform movement in the Armenian Church. Mr Bergne, the Secretary, then on an official visit to the Levant, attended his funeral. Mrs Barker had died two years earlier. Provision was made by the Committee for his young family.

During this brief interval nearly 29,000 volumes in the versions of the agency were printed for the Society at the American Mission press, Constantinople. Gratuitous distribution had practically ceased on the withdrawal of the Allies; and from that date to the beginning of 1860 upwards of 82,000 copies were put into circulation in European Turkey and Asia Minor.

Meanwhile 73,000 copies in upwards of forty languages had been issued from the depôt of the Malta Agency, whose affairs it will be convenient to mention at this point. The "forbidden books" were safely landed at Trieste, Ancona, Naples, and Leghorn. Supplies were sent to Gibraltar and the North African cities where the Jewish

missionaries were stationed; and Mr Lowndes visited Tripoli, whither no missionary had ventured, but the Hebrew version had found its way under the sail of the Barbary trader. In Malta itself the people, ignorant, bigoted, abjectly submissive to their clergy, were almost inaccessible. But for the school children, Greece seemed well-nigh hopeless. The average yearly issue from the depôt at Athens was under 3000 copies. Many of these were sold to the American missionaries; more than half were distributed gratis among the Government schools. In 1859 the depôt was placed in charge of Dr Kalopothakes, editor of *The Star in the East* and a staunch advocate of Gospel truth, and he at once introduced the system of sale.

Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were included in the Malta Agency. Thrice in the seven years Mr Lowndes made a tour of inspection, and correspondence kept him in touch with the numerous centres of Christian activity. The Society's books were used in the Mission schools at Antioch, in Lebanon, at Damascus. From Beyrout Hebrew Scriptures were sent to the Jews east of the Euphrates. At Jerusalem a book-shop was opened, and a room set apart for the privacy of those who wished to read the Bible, but were afraid to have it in their possession.

In 1859 Mr Bergne visited both Jerusalem and Beyrout. On the invitation of Bishop Gobat he delivered the first Bible Society address ever heard on Mount Zion, and before leaving he gave £25 to provide for colportage in the surrounding country. At the Syrian sea-port he had several interviews with the Rev. Dr Van Dyck regarding the new Arabic version. This had been begun in 1848 by Dr Eli Smith of the American Foreign Missions, who translated the New Testament and a dozen books of the Old, and on whose death in January 1857 the task was taken up by his colleague, Van Dyck. At that moment the New Testament was passing through the Mission press.

In Egypt systematic work had scarcely been begun. After various unsuccessful efforts an Association was formed by ministers and merchants at Alexandria in 1858, and in the following year Mr Bergne held the first public Bible Society meeting at the depôt which had been opened in the colonnade of one of the mosques. In 1860 the Committee joined the American missionaries at Cairo in a Bible voyage into Upper Egypt. Travellers and tourists assisted in the work of distribution; and among these voluntary helpers the Earl of Aberdeen sold between 300 and 400 volumes "at a very fair price." On the Earl's suggestion a handsome Turkish Bible was presented to the Vali or Viceroy of Egypt, who had shown great consideration towards the English at Alexandria and the American missionaries at Cairo.[1]

Suddenly upon the peaceful work in Syria burst the storm of the Druse and Turkish massacres in the spring of 1860. The Maronite villages near Beyrout were harried with fire and sword. At Damascus the Christian quarter and the consulates of six Christian nations were laid in ruins, and 3000 inhabitants perished. The disorder was promptly quelled by the action of England and France, but thousands of Christians were homeless, and the great quantities of Scriptures distributed by the Society had been carried off or destroyed.

The year 1860 was marked by an important rearrangement of the Mediterranean Agencies. The vacancy caused by the death of Mr Barker was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Alexander Thomson, secretary of the Constantinople Auxiliary, and for seventeen years a Free Church of Scotland missionary to the Jews. Mr Lowndes, who had assisted to found the Malta Auxiliary in 1817, retired at the end of the year,[2] and the great district of which he had taken charge

[1] The title of "Khedive" (Sovereign) was bought at a heavy price from the Sultan by Ismail in 1867.

[2] In the quiet of Cornwall he prepared marginal references to the Modern Greek

was divided. Greece was transferred to the Turkish Agency. Malta, North Africa, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were added to the Italian Agency under Mr Bruce, with Mr T. J. Kirby as his sub-agent at Malta.

Ten years later, at the close of 1870, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were annexed to the Turkish Agency, but this arrangement was not final, and need only be mentioned in the present chapter.

So far there had been little to check the course of Bible-work in Turkey; but as external pressure on the Ottoman Government was relaxed, time showed how illusory was the pledge of reforms, when their realisation depended on officials who, to use Lord Salisbury's phrase, "accepted them with reluctance and neglected them with impunity." In Bulgaria, where the struggle for religious independence grew in intensity, every act that stirred the people to new life and higher thought was violently resented by the Greek hierarchy. The Scriptures were denounced as "the cause of all the trouble" between the Bulgarians and the Greek patriarchate. They were seized by one archbishop; all who purchased them were threatened with imprisonment by another. Through the corruption or the subservience of the local pashas colporteurs were imprisoned at Widdin and Varna, and expelled from Silistria. The protests of the British and American ambassadors secured no redress, and the special permit of the Governor-General of the province was disregarded by his own subordinates.

In 1864 a gross violation of the Sultan's engagements took place in the capital itself. On the 18th July the Society's depôt at Stamboul was seized by the Turkish police.[1] Those in charge were ejected, the doors closed with

Bible which he assisted Mr Leeves and Professor Bambas to translate. Bambas died at Athens in January 1855. Mr Lowndes passed away, aged eighty-three, at the house of his only daughter, at Basel, 1874.

[1] On the same day the missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were suppressed. One of the missionaries and a

official seals, and the premises searched—unsuccessfully, it need scarcely be said—for controversial tracts and books disparaging the Mohammedan religion. The case was laid before Earl Russell, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who supported the Society's claim to the unrestricted distribution of the Scriptures as "an essential and indispensable part of the religious liberty guaranteed by the Hatti-Humayoun." The Turkish Government tendered an apology for their unwarranted proceedings, the depôt was restored, and a temporary check was placed on the provincial pashas. But the hostility of the Porte was as unchangeable as that of Rome. In 1874 an application for sanction to print the Osmanli New Testament raised the whole question of the status of the Society and the privileges conceded in the charter of 1856. There was the usual shiftiness and evasion. The Turkish Minister in London, however, very plainly avowed the intention of the Porte. It was not to hinder the mere printing of the Scriptures, but to put a stop to "colportage" (which had been going on without public disturbance for nearly twenty years) and "gratuitous distribution" (which was not the practice of the Society) "in the open streets of the capital." At length the requisite permission was secured through the powerful influence of the Earl of Derby, and the volume was ready for circulation in 1876. By that time Turkish misrule and oppression had provoked the desperate revolt which set the Balkans aflame, and brought the Russian legions almost to the gates of Stamboul.

Few of those who have written of the making of Bulgaria seem to have been aware of the impulse which the work of the Society must have given to the aspirations of the people. In the Jubilee Year the New Testament, sanctioned by Archbishop Hilarion, was all that the Bulgarians possessed of the Word of God in their native tongue. The Psalter,

Turkish clergyman were arrested; several converts were imprisoned for some days, but forty-seven other Christian Turks were sent to the galleys.

prepared from the Modern Greek by Constantine Photinoff and revised by the Rev. Elias Riggs of the American Mission, was published in 1855; and the Bulgarian scholar proceeded to the translation of the Old Testament. Genesis, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes left the press in 1857. In his anxiety to finish his great undertaking, Photinoff persevered against every remonstrance almost to the day of his death. The MS. was completed in 1858, and Dr Riggs, Dr A. Long of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, M. Slaveikoff, and M. Christodul Costovich were appointed a board of revision. In the earlier books Photinoff had used the Western or Macedonian dialect; in the later he adopted the Eastern, which was rapidly becoming the literary language. To this Eastern form M. Costovich modified the text of the Psalter, which was issued in 1860, and the whole of his predecessor's work. The Pentateuch, forming the first volume of the Old Testament, appeared in 1860; Joshua to Job, the second volume, two years afterwards—each in an edition of 1000 copies; but the demand became so great that the printing order was doubled for the third volume, Psalms to Malachi, which was published in 1864. Two years later the British and American Societies shared the cost of an edition of the New Testament "easternised" by MM. Slaveikoff and Michaeloffsky, brother of Archbishop Hilarion. Five thousand copies of the Bulgarian Reference Bible were published in 1871, and in 1874 appeared the revised standard text in an edition of 10,000.

In spite of such opposition as we have seen, the Scriptures were brought home to the people, dispersing the double darkness of illiteracy and superstition, for in these regions the colporteurs met with priests even who believed in the magic of the village witch, and who feared that the use of the Bulgarian Gospels might expose their own ignorance. Teachers were awakened to their responsibility in shaping the future of their country; directors of education

induced to adopt the Scriptures as school-books; the people encouraged to compare the Society's books with their ancient Church version.

In 1867 the country south of the Balkans was reserved by friendly arrangement to the American Bible Society; the Scottish occupied Macedonia, where the bulk of the population was Bulgarian; and the work of the agency in the wide district between the Balkans and the Danube was extended westward to the frontier of Servia. Soon there were Bible-readers and friends of the cause in well-nigh every town and village within the range of the colporteurs. But lights and shadows chased each other over the wide prospect. If the devout Hegoumen of some monastery charged parents and children to buy and study the Word of God, there were infidel teachers who spread their irreligion among the young. At Rasgrad a scoffer was taken to task by a priest, compelled to eat his words, and kiss the Bible; at Vrania the people, under ecclesiastical menaces, tore up and burnt their books; at Kasan the colporteur was invited to dinner in order that a wide circle of inquirers might hear him speak of divine things. Even the Moslem paid homage to Gospel truth. Handed over by his bishop to the civil power at Lompalanka, "With this only am I charged," said Philip the Bible-reader; "I do not sign myself with the cross, I refuse to worship the pictures. These things I cannot do; they are idolatry." "That is the true Gospel," replied the Kadi. "Go your way, mind your own affairs, and I shall see that you meet with no more annoyance."

In 1875 enlightenment so far prevailed that the Bulgarian Evangelical Society was formed for the propagation of the Gospel in the Balkan peninsula.

After the atrocities of 1876, two of the colporteurs in the Society's district — itself a scene of violence and rapine — were sent to assist in administering relief provided for the suffering people by the Constantinople committee. In other

districts the men took part in similar work, and this active sympathy in the time of sorrow was not forgotten afterwards.

In 1861 Wallachia and Moldavia became the Principality of Roumania. The union of the provinces developed an intense national spirit and a fearless desire for progress. Most of the monastic establishments were secularised; the Government required that public worship should be conducted throughout in the common tongue; provision was made for the advance of education. Out of this newly-turned soil sprang the wild flower of a native literature. The services of the Society, not only in the schools but in the general direction of men's minds to a religion purged of formalism and superstition, were gratefully recognised in all circles. Nowhere on the Continent had its agents more complete freedom of action. The colporteurs were welcomed by prefect and bishop; permits were dispensed with by the chief of police; they were hospitably received at the monasteries — one of them indeed was invited to join the brotherhood and end his days in the cloisters when he could travel no longer. It would have been strange, however, had there been no times of trial and discouragement, no opposition, mockery, and misrepresentation to endure. Professors occasionally interfered with the work, churchmen complained that the schools were filled with the books of a foreign society, and one prelate, whose services as a translator had not been accepted, forbade the purchase of the Scriptures in his diocese; but in the main the Word of God entered as a potent influence into the spiritual and social progress of the country.

In the six years 1854-59, 15,000 Rouman Testaments and 3000 copies of Genesis and the Psalms, translated by Professor Aristias, were published by the Society. The Pentateuch by Professor Balascescu was issued in 1864, and in the following year 5000 copies of the Octateuch, forming vol. i. of the Old Testament, were printed under the

editorship of Professor Jerome of Jassy. Its circulation, however, was obstructed on the ground that the translator, instead of following the text of the Septuagint, had worked from the original Hebrew. All arguments and remonstrances were unavailing until the revolution of 1866 brought a more enlightened or less prejudiced Minister into power. Professor Jerome undertook the completion of the version, but abandoned the work on account of the suspicion it excited among the higher clergy. Vol. ii., Samuel to Psalms (7000 copies), appeared in 1867, and vol. iii., Proverbs to Malachi (8000 copies), in 1869—both by other scholars, and revised at Jassy by the Rev. W. Mayer of the London Jews Society. Meanwhile a revised edition, with references, of the New Testament and Psalms, in Latin type, left the press in 1864, and a similar edition for those who read only the Cyrillian character was printed a year or two later. It thus became possible in 1871 to make up and issue a complete volume of the Holy Scriptures. The text of the whole Rouman Bible was revised and harmonised by the Rev. W. Mayer and Professor Pallade of Jassy, and three editions were printed, one in 1873 at Pesth for the Austrian, the others at Jassy for the Turkish Agency in 1874.

At the beginning of that year, for the sake of economy and convenience, Roumania, with its population of about 4,000,000, its depôts at Bucharest and Jassy, and its staff of four colporteurs, was transferred to the Austrian Agency. The circulation had just reached its highest point — 6630 copies; and during the fourteen years 1860-73, upwards of 49,800 copies had been distributed—chiefly in Rouman, but also in German and French, and in the versions suitable to the Jews, whose interest had been deeply stirred. In 1854 10,000 New Testaments represented the Society's work in Rouman; in 1874 no less than 154,500 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions had passed through the press.

Dearth of men and the condition of the country long

prevented any systematic effort on the western side of European Turkey, but in the spring of 1863 Dr Thomson ascended the Save from Belgrade, travelled through Bosnia by way of Berbir, Banjaluka, Traunitz, and Serajevo, and proceeded thence to Monastir, the capital of Herzegovina, and the old Adriatic city of Ragusa. As the result of this tour, Mr Tabory, an Austrian Protestant, was stationed in the autumn at Serajevo, among the descendants of the Sclavonic tribes which received the Scriptures in their mother-tongue from Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. More than one-third of the population were now Mohammedans; the rest, in almost equal numbers, belonged to the Latin and Greek Churches; but the former—Moslems in creed, Servians in race and speech—unacquainted with Turkish and ignorant alike of the Roman and Cyrillian characters, were unable to use the Word of God in any version. A strange visiting, it seemed, of the sins of the renegade chiefs who, during the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, saved their lands by the sacrifice of their ancient Christianity.

Passing to the capital of Northern Albania, Dr Thomson found Scodra (Scutari), with its mysterious, high-walled suburb, a stronghold of Roman Catholicism. A majority of Christians along the seaboard of the province were Roman Catholics. The numerous Miridite clan, though polygamy was not unknown among them, were included in the same fold. Among the mountains and in the central part of the province, it was said, many of the Testaments distributed in the Crimea had been carried to their homes by the troops at the close of the war, but at Scutari there was "probably not a single copy of the Word of God in the hands of the common people." Early in 1864 Mr Hermann Riedel took up his residence there as sub-agent. The last stage of Dr Thomson's tour was Janina, where the Rev. S. Constantine of the American and Foreign Christian Union undertook to represent the Society in South Albania and Thessaly, but in

May 1865 the sub-agency was put in charge of Mr Alexander Davidson, a young Edinburgh man.

The work in these new fields was beset with peculiar difficulties. In Bosnia the people and, with occasional exceptions, the Greek clergy were friendly, but even among the Christian population there were few readers. In Albania, ringed with mountains which might have been the bulwarks of a nation, differences of creed had destroyed the first conditions of national unity. Moslems, Romanists, Greeks using the Greek liturgy, Greeks using the Sclavic, the Albanians were broken up into sections which possessed no written vernacular literature and had been unable to adopt a common alphabet. The Society's edition of St Matthew (1824) had been the first book printed in Albanian. The New Testament of 1827 was reprinted in 1858 after Mr Lowndes's last visit to Janina. This version was in Tosk, the speech of Southern Albania, but as reading in Tosk was taught in none of the schools little progress in Bible-work was possible.

In Northern Albania, where Roman Catholics and Greeks were hostile, and the Turkish authorities obstructed colportage until redress was obtained from Constantinople, the common tongue was Gheg, in which no part of the Scriptures had yet appeared. Happily at this juncture Dr Thomson met with an Albanian scholar, Mr Constantine Christophorides, who had translated the New Testament into this northern language. The MS. was at once revised, and the Four Gospels and Acts, printed in Roman type with the addition of specific characters, were issued in 1866. The news of the publication reached Scutari before the books, and these were denounced in advance from the altar in the cathedral as "subversive of the faith of God and of His Christ." Whosoever purchased them "sinned against the Holy Ghost, and was cursed of the same"; nay, even those who spoke to the person who sold them, or answered his questions, drew on his head the same malediction.

In Constantinople, however, there was an Albanian population of some 20,000, who served both as a field for evangelisation and a medium of distribution. The colporteur was busy among them, and contact with the life of the capital enabled them to perceive some of the possibilities of this new movement among their countrymen. A number of the copies which they purchased were sent home. The strange orthography was mastered. Around Dibra especially, in the Black Drin valley, where Servian was taught in the schools, and Sclavonic used in the churches, priests and people hailed with pleasure the appearance of these books in the fireside speech. Editions of the Psalms, translated by Christophorides into Tosk and Gheg, were published in 1868, and Moslems from both the Gheg and Tosk tribes—kadis, mudrisis, men of position—visited the depôt to purchase and to learn the character.

The orthographic system adopted by the Society became at this time a matter of peculiar importance, and in 1869, when the New Testament in Gheg passed through the press, no little anxiety was felt lest it should be subverted by one of the new alphabets devised by the Albanian commission under the Government scheme of education. Their proposals, however, were coupled with plans for new schools and the support of schoolmasters, which the Government found too expensive, and further action was stayed by the adverse influence of the Greek and Roman Churches, "terrified at the prospect of so much light being introduced among the people." So with this danger averted, revised editions of the New Testament and Psalter were put into circulation in 1872.

Meanwhile distribution was carried on with many chequered experiences. Riedel, whose wife had opened a girls' school at Scutari, traversed Northern Albania from Durazzo to Prisrend and from Berat to Ipek. In that old ecclesiastical capital of the Servia of Stephen Dushan he

was warmly welcomed by the Patriarch. Many of his journeys extended into Montenegro, where new schools were in need of his books and old friends eagerly awaited fresh portions of the Serb version. His work was taken up by Edward Van Laer in 1867, and by an old St Chrischona scholar in 1870. In his tours through the inland towns of the south, among the romantic villages on the Khimara coast, along the snowy slopes of Pindus, Mr Davidson brought the sacred books into strange scenes. Copies were sold where once divine oracles were sought among the oaks of Dodona. Mountain hamlets were visited, in which there were only women, children, and old men; the lads, marrying young, left their homes and wives when they reached manhood, and frequently did not return from the distant cities for fifteen or twenty years. At the bright terraced town of Metzovo, which held the most important pass on Pindus, there was a numerous colony of Wallachs (Vlachs), who had been carriers in the mountains for centuries. They read and spoke Greek, but their family tongue was Rouman. Unhappily, they could not read the Latin or Cyrillian character of the Rouman version, but by a curious coincidence their discontent with ecclesiastical rule led, in 1868, to the opening of schools under teachers from Roumania.

From time to time journeys were taken into Thessaly, which was part of the sub-agency. At the beginning of 1868, however, a depôt was established at Volo, on the classic shore of the Argonauts under the forests of Pelion; and Mr Zabanski was placed in charge of a district cursed with priestcraft, superstition, and brigandage. A page from one of his letters vividly suggests the condition of things. A brigand chief who had harried Thessaly for ten years came in to make his peace with the Government. Low in stature, broad-chested, powerful and fleet-footed, the man was dressed in picturesque Albanian garb, with many rosaries and two broad silver chains across his breast.

One of these was attached to a powder-flask; the other to a small leather case. The case contained a revered talisman to which he attributed a "charmed life," and he had enshrined it in massive silver covers. It was a very old copy of the Gospels in Ancient Greek! "I gave him a Modern Greek Testament of the same size, that he might read and see what the contents of his treasure really were." At Larissa, Tricala, Turnovo, Pharsalus, the kadi bought, the aged mullah commended the Scriptures to his followers, the Israelite gave them a place on his stall at the fair. Turks and Jews urged the Christians to buy their own religious books, but of all things it was "the contents of the treasure" which the Church most dreaded to see in the hands of the people.

In 1870 Mr Davidson was transferred to Crete; a merchant at Janina took over the Society's stock; and Zabanski found time amid his Thessalian tours and his trips to Eubœa, Skopelos, Thasos, and other islands, for excursions into Southern Albania. Two years later Northern Albania was in a similar condition, but Mr Christophorides had himself taken the field, instructing his countrymen in the "new reading," and arousing them to the value of the alphabet and literature in their native speech which the Society had given them in the Gheg and Tosk Scriptures. His return to Elbassan after one of his inspiring circuits was "rather a triumphal procession than the return of a peaceful literary man to his humble home." The sales sprang up to something over 1000 copies a year. The Scriptures were introduced into a number of boys' and girls' schools. They were even bought by many Roman Catholics at Durazzo and Tyrana, and by a few at Avlona, and copies found their way into Scutari. When he left to continue his version work, Colporteur Klundt, who had been stationed at Uskup near the Macedonian border in 1872, entered the country. He was arrested as a Russian

spy at Scutari; his books were seized by the Governor of Prisrend; and on two of his journeys he was only saved from brigands by the bravery of his muleteer.

Travelling incessantly, but effecting very limited sales, Tabory had been twelve years at work when Herzegovina revolted against Turkey, and Bosnia joined the insurgents. In the fierce collisions between Christians and Moslems at Serajevo his house was set on fire, and he fled for safety beyond the Save, where he was sheltered by a kindly Roman Catholic priest. He was soon at his post again, and did good service among the wounded when the Austrians occupied these provinces, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as we have seen, became part of the Austrian Agency.

We return to the headquarters of the agency. Amid the busy routine of missionary co-operation, the traffic of respectable hawkers who frequented the depôts in Stamboul and Pera, colportage in the streets, among the shipping and the Russian pilgrim steamers in the Golden Horn, and along the shores of the Euxine and the Sea of Marmora, the opening of a handsome new Bible House in 1872 for the joint occupancy of the British and American Societies[1] marked an epoch in Christian work under Turkish rule. Forty years earlier, it was remembered, toleration and religious liberty were unknown even in principle; and a headless trunk torn by the savage street-dogs of the capital warned "the faithful" of the doom of apostasy.

Little is recorded of the Constantinople Auxiliary, but up to 1876 it contributed £757 to the Society. Gifts, too, from the mission schools betokened the goodwill of a new generation. Of one staunch Bibleman, Colporteur Goldstein, a word must be said. Arrested and rearrested, rebuked and reprimanded, he was allowed at last to go his way—blame-

[1] The project was initiated by Dr Bliss, the American agent for the Levant. To facilitate the progress of the work £1000 was advanced as prepaid rent by the London Committee.

less and incorrigible. Ulemas, imâms, mullahs, Dervish recluses received the Scriptures from his hands. As he passed a Turkish house a woman's voice from a latticed window stopped him: "What books have you? Have you Protestant books? Show me one"; and a copy of the Word of Life passed into the harem. He sold a New Testament in the precincts of St Sophia itself. At the Greek Theological Seminary on Khalki Island, year after year he was a favoured guest, and discussed high questions of belief and practice with Bulgarian and Greek prelates. On his sick-bed the aged Bishop of Silivri, once not too friendly, sent for him to ask his prayers and to commend him to his suffragan. He had been thirteen years in the service when the war-ships of Britain, the United States, Germany, Sweden, and Russia lay in Turkish waters on the eve of the war, and he was welcomed as a visitor among them.

In the midst of this busy field-work we must here find place for an account of the Osmanli version. To meet the splendid opportunity presented by the political events of 1854-56, 5000 copies of the Turkish New Testament, revised by Mr J. W. Redhouse, were hastened through the English press in 1857; and 3000 Armeno-Turkish Bibles and three editions of the New Testament (15,000 copies) were printed at the American Mission press, Constantinople, in 1857-58.[1] But among those best qualified to speak of missionary requirements and to judge the defects and limitations of the existing Turkish text a strong desire was expressed for a version in pure idiomatic Turkish, which should appeal to the educated middle class, and should be suitable — this was in some measure an afterthought—for transliteration into all the scripts of the Empire. The idea was at once adopted by the

[1] The Armeno-Turkish New Testament (*i.e.*, Turkish in Armenian character), by the Rev. Dr W. Goodell of the American Foreign Missions, was published at Malta at the expense of the Society in 1831. The Bible (including the Testament of 1831 revised) was printed in 1843 at Constantinople,—the Old Testament at the expense of the American Bible Society. The version had been revised for this edition of 1857, and was yet again revised for a later edition in 1863.

Committee, who undertook the whole expense of the project, and its execution was intrusted to the Rev. Dr Schauffleur of the American Foreign Missions, a man of signal attainments — "he spoke ten languages and read as many more"—and editor of the Judæo-Spanish Old Testament. Goodell's Armeno-Turkish version was put before him for transcription into Arabic character, with such simple modifications as might appear necessary. Goodell's translation, however, had been made for the Armenian peasantry, who had ceased to use the tongue of their race and had not learned the script of their Turkish neighbours; and Schauffleur had not proceeded far in his transcription before discovering that his appointed task was impracticable. An independent Osmanli version was accordingly sanctioned at the cost of the British and American Bible Societies.

With the tardy consent of the Turkish officials, the Four Gospels and Acts were issued in 1862. So far the new translation was regarded as "more idiomatic, more generally intelligible to all classes, and more faithful to the original than any preceding edition." The complete New Testament with references appeared in 1866, and a tentative edition of the Psalms followed in 1868; but the style of the Psalter met with distinctly unfavourable criticism on the ground of its poetic obscurity.

In 1868 another distinguished American linguist, the Rev. A. T. Pratt, M.D., was commissioned to revise Goodell's Armeno-Turkish version.[1] On the publication of his New Testament in 1870 the consensus of missionary opinion that he had gone far to realise the common text originally proposed, raised anew the whole problem of Turkish translation. Its solution was left by the Bible Societies to a board of experts, who met at Constantinople in June 1873, with Dr Schauffleur as chairman.[2] To the deep regret of the board

[1] The saintly and genial Goodell died in 1867.

[2] The board consisted of Dr Elias Riggs and the Rev. G. F. Herrick, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and the

Dr Schauffleur, who still believed a unification of versions to be impossible, resigned after five months' collaboration, but his MSS. of the Pentateuch and Isaiah were added to the store of materials on which they laboured.[1] It was the New Testament of this version which, as we have seen, the Turkish authorities refused to sanction in 1874, and which occasioned the effective interposition of Lord Derby.

In the quiet of the Bible House at Stamboul the committee pursued their task in the midst of insurrection, massacre, and revolution. The Sultan Abdul-Aziz was deposed and murdered ; in three months his successor Murad was plucked from his throne ; then the Russians poured across the Danube, and the Biblemen of three agencies were involved in the scenes of strife described in the last chapter. The little company pressed on without interruption ; a second edition of the New Testament was issued in time to be sent to Russia for the Turkish prisoners ; and at length, on the 25th May 1878, the last words of the version were penned, and the committee "united in a prayer of thanksgiving and consecration, to which our Turkish helpers responded with an audible 'Amen.'" The printing of the Old Testament was finished in December, and the Osmanli Bible appeared simultaneously in Arabic and Armenian character, with the welcome imprimatur of the Porte. Incredible as it may seem, the Government, in authorising these editions, insisted on the title-page bearing the legend :—"Printed and published with the royal permission of the Department of Public Instruction."

Rev. Robert Weakley, of the Church Missionary Society, Smyrna, assisted by Pastor Avedis Constantian of Marash and two Turkish scholars, one of whom was led to Christ through this work. Dr Pratt, who was engaged on the revision of the Old Testament, and whose services on the committee would have been invaluable, died in 1872.

[1] Dr Schauffleur, who was in failing health, withdrew to Brünn, the capital of Moravia. His Pentateuch and Isaiah were printed at Vienna in 1877. The rest of his Old Testament, completed too late to be of use to the committee, was deposited in the strong-room of the New York Bible House as the joint property of the two Societies. The gifted scholar, who had been enrolled as an Hon. Life Governor in 1874, died at New York in 1883, at the age of eighty-five.

But even this admirable version had not quite struck the happy mean of purity, grace, and simplicity. When a demand arose for a fresh recension of the Græco-Turkish Bible, which had been revised in 1854-56 by Mr Constantinides Philadelpheus, and in 1866-71 had been brought by Dr Riggs into close conformity with Goodell's Armeno-Turkish, the diction of the Osmanli Bible was deemed too cultured and difficult for the Greeks of Asia Minor, and yet another revision — which practically amounted to a new translation—was begun in 1881.

The war with Russia left Turkey a disastrous heritage of insurrection and lawlessness. The people were racked with poverty and taxation. The country was overrun with brigands. In Thessaly even the school children were waylaid and held to ransom, and the fate of Clement Sosnovski of Uskup proved how serious were the risks to which the colporteur was exposed. In 1880 he crossed the mountains into the disturbed districts held by the Albanian League; was seen at Prisrend by the Austrian Consul, and advised to go back; hired horses for his return with his boxes of books, set out for Uskup on the 2nd September, and—whether shot by the League as a spy, murdered for his poor belongings, or otherwise done to death—disappeared for ever.

Little Bible-work was possible in Thessaly in such circumstances. Zabanski, in failing health, held the depôt until 1880, when a joint arrangement was made with the American Mission to the Greeks. In the following year the province was ceded to Greece, and was included in the colportage system of Athens. Tried men from other parts of the agency were assigned to the difficult work in Albania. The New Testament in Tosk and Greek — a revision by Christophorides of the first Albanian diglot—was published in 1879 with the imprimatur of the Ministry of Education; Genesis and Exodus followed in 1880; and in 1881 a new

depôt was opened at Janina conjointly with the American Presbyterian Mission. In the three years 1879-81, 3586 copies were put into circulation. Suddenly the Government excluded from Albania the diglots which bore the imprint of its own direct sanction. It was a return to the old policy of violated pledges and terrorism. The Society's books were seized; its men arrested, sent long journeys under guard, and condemned to prison in default of finding sureties. In Macedonia the abuse of power was still more flagrant, and even the British Ambassador failed to obtain satisfaction. No attempt was made to disguise the motive of hostility: "You sell Christian books in the Turkish language and in Arabic characters. If we allow this to go on, the days of Islam are numbered." So intense were the suspicion and hatred of *all* books, that a Bulgarian in Uskup, who had obtained publications through the post, was sentenced to prison and fined over £50.

At last we come to a more cheering picture. North of the Balkans Bulgaria emerges as an autonomous Principality. On the withdrawal of the Russian troops the management of Bible affairs passes from the Austrian to the Turkish Agency. Three colporteurs are at work—Grüneberg among his people, the Jews, in the east; Heringer in the central districts, where the Scriptures are read in most of the schools; Klundt in the ruder and more superstitious west. For over eleven years Krzossa has been depositary at Rustchuk. The depôt is no longer "the Protestant book-shop." It is "the Bible Magazine." The peasants, who used to shun it, come gladly now to buy New Testaments for their children; and as these school-books are in the ancient Sclavic, many take the Bulgarian Testament as well. During the war, when numbers of people were arrested on suspicion, Krzossa and his men exerted themselves successfully on their behalf, and these good offices are not forgotten now. Thanks to the representations of the German Consulate, the Scriptures are

admitted duty free into the Principality, and on one occasion might have been seen the interesting contrast of boxes of Bibles not taxed and tariff paid on eight waggons of eikons and church ornaments from Russia. At its annual meeting at Philippopolis in 1881 the Bulgarian Evangelical Society votes an expression of its "deep gratitude to the Bible Society for the great good it has done and is doing to our nation." At almost every place, it notes, "where the Word of God was burned some ten years ago, there is now a preacher of that Word, and people to hear it." During 1879-83 upwards of 33,300 copies of Scripture were sold. All this notwithstanding, the period closes with a sharp reminder of the uncertainty of to-morrow. Fortune gives the wheel of statecraft a sudden turn. Foreign books and foreign mission-work fall under the suspicion of the Government. Repressive measures are taken; the colporteurs are hooted in the streets, and fanatics threaten to burn all the houses of Protestants.

The most striking feature of this time, however, was the visible quickening of religious thought in the capital of the empire. In the concourse of races and nationalities which crowded and coloured the streets and bazaars of Constantinople, it was the Turks who were most ready to listen and to buy, to protect the colporteur from insult, to rebuke the Greek or Armenian for destroying his own sacred writings. The annual circulation in Stamboul increased between 1879 and 1883 from 3340 to 6720 copies; and in the latter year seventeen men were more or less regularly employed in selling the Scriptures, and the first Biblewoman —Fatima, the widow of an old colporteur—was spreading the knowledge of the Gospel among her own sex.[1]

The issues of the Osmanli version had now so nearly

[1] Invited to the house of some women from her native place in Cappadocia, she was treacherously given in charge as a renegade; but on seeing the books and learning that she and her husband had sold them for years with the permission of the authorities, the police-officer was moved to let her go.

run out that in 1883 the Societies applied through the Embassies for sanction to print larger editions. The Government stipulated that the words "For Protestants only" should appear on the cover and title-page, but with such a condition it was impossible for the Societies to comply. At this juncture the plans for making Egypt and Syria an independent agency were in progress, and Mr J. Bevan Braithwaite and the Secretary, Mr Reed, were in Constantinople. They waited on the Minister of Education, and succeeded in having the condition withdrawn. The permit was granted, and a revision of the Osmanli Bible was begun with a view to simplification of style.

In the early sixties the great tracts of Asia Minor, formerly covered by correspondence with the American missions, were included in the expansion of the American Bible Society. The depôt, however, was maintained at Smyrna, and supplied whatever Scriptures were required; and when the Church Missionary Society's work at Constantinople was suppressed in 1864, the Rev. Robert Weakley joined his colleagues there—the Revs. J. T. and T. Wolters, father and son,—and for a number of years Bible tours were regularly made into the interior. Under the supervision of the Rev. T. Spence of the Church of Scotland Mission, Pilo, a Spanish Jew, began colportage in 1869 in the islands clustered along the old Ionian shores. In the following year Mr Davidson left Albania to labour in Crete, and all the crinkled coast from the Dardanelles to Adalia, where St Paul took ship, was divided, north and south from Smyrna, between Darom and the physician Misaelides. Everywhere on this new ground one saw, as in a mirror, the things that were then taking place in Turkey. One saw, too, out of the past dim shadow-pictures of the first Christian missions—now the oxen and garlands brought for sacrifice; now the stones

of the mob, and the apostle dragged out of the city like one dead.

For four years Mr Davidson spent himself on Crete. In the summer of 1873 he caught pleurisy while crossing the snowy mountains, returned home in consumption, and died in Edinburgh in 1874 at the age of thirty-eight. For all his arduous journeys, only 1400 copies were distributed among a population of 150,000, chiefly belonging to the Greek Church. Down to the revolutionary risings which followed the war with Russia the number but little exceeded 2000. Still the work was not without visible fruit. A colony of Spanish Jews, visited first by a missionary eighteen years before, were moved in 1879 to confess the Saviour, and wrote to Dr Thomson as to the course they should follow. Colporteur Klonares was violently expelled in 1880 by the collusion of the Metropolitan and the civil authorities, but others took his place up to the end of the period. During the fourteen years the total circulation in Crete scarcely reached 5700 copies.

Mitylene presented a wonderful contrast, when once the hostility of the Archbishop had been checked by an order from the Government. The Lesbians believed in visions of the Panagia and holy-well cures; at one place they revered some old classic faun or satyr in black marble as an image of Michael the Archangel; a miraculous picture of St Barbara was let out for a good round sum by the church at Pavla when the neighbouring villages were stricken with epidemic; but they were a kindly people, and eager to receive the Gospel. They brought Pilo raisins and oranges, and invited him to their board. Men and women came from distant villages inquiring for the *daskalos*. When he spoke of leaving, prayers were offered for snow or rain to stay him; and when he did set out, the chief inhabitants took him long distances on his way. The work was greatly aided by the schoolmasters and a number of

the priests; and in several of the schools the Scriptures were introduced through the sheer insistence of the head teachers. In three years between 8000 and 9000 copies were sold—some few perhaps to be used as amulets; and to the end of the period the Lesbian Isle was the brightest spot in those Ottoman possessions.

From time to time Samos was visited, and Tenedos and Kalymnos; Lemnos, where Pilo narrowly escaped an attempt on his life; Thasos and Cos; Rhodes, in whose Knight-rider Street Mr Leeves noticed the old coats of arms on the houses in 1845; Imbros, Samothrace, and Scarpanto; Chios, among whose people nearly 1800 Testaments and Portions were distributed, and gladly received, after the terrible earthquake of 1881; and Cyprus, "polluted of old by the worship of Venus, and hallowed by the teaching of Barnabas and Paul."

Welcomed as friends at one time, reviled at another as Atheists, Freemasons, Enemies of the pictures (Eikonomachoi), Disturbers of peace, the colporteurs on the mainland pursued their calling in towns and villages whose modern names hide as often as they recall the tale of places of old renown. After nine years' service Darom joined the Scottish Mission to the Jews in 1880, and was succeeded by Moschobakes, sometime a Government official in Patmos, who had been led to the Truth by Misaelides. In 1883 Misaelides himself was appointed depositary in Smyrna. Between 1870 and 1884, 51,188 copies of the Scripture were scattered abroad in the islands and along this coast.

Readers will recollect the early work among the "Bible-readers" round Ismid (Nicomedia). In 1854 the Committee received from Ada-bazar a letter of affection and thankfulness, signed by twelve pastors and elders of the Evangelical Armenian Churches. Twenty years later Pastor Djejizian of Ada-bazar wrote asking that a colporteur should be sent into his forgotten district. So work was taken up along the

southern seaboard of the Euxine, as far east as Kastamuni. Once indeed the coast was skirted to Sinope (the birthplace of the Philosopher of the Tub), Samsun, and Trebizond. At Zafaranboli was found a congregation of Turkish-speaking Greeks, whose Christian life had been built upon the Græco-Turkish Scriptures. Eight hundred families there were, with only a native teacher, and save for the old people and the little children, all but two or three were readers. Between 4000 and 5000 copies in all were distributed in this wild country, where swollen rivers stayed the traveller for days, and the few roads were watched by brigands. In the last years of the period progress was noticeable especially among the Turks, "rich men and officers in the army, as well as soldiers and common people."

On the cession of Cyprus to Britain in 1878, Mr Jacob Back, formerly a merchant in Stamboul, was appointed sub-agent. A depôt was opened at Larnaca; Sir Garnet Wolseley obtained the admission of the Scriptures duty-free; and a letter of recommendation was given by Archbishop Sophronius, who was independent of the Greek Patriarch. The population was estimated at 220,000, of whom 165,000 were Greek Christians and the rest Mohammedans,[1] but the number of readers did not exceed two in the hundred. Education was under way, and the Scriptures were introduced into the schools, though difficulties were raised by teachers who had brought from Athens their prejudice against the Modern Greek version. The Linobambaki were visited. In the high Tylirian mountain village in which their ancestors found refuge, they had fallen into semi-savagery; on the plains they were like their neighbours, and had an excellent school. Now that

[1] The Moslems included about 10,000 people, descendants of Christians forced at the times of the Turkish conquest to profess Islam. While openly conforming, they baptized their children in secret, and so came to be known as Linobambaki, "Linen-cottons."

they were safe under the British colours, many joined the Greek Church.

When Mr Back left the Island in 1882 he had circulated over 10,000 copies — twice as many books as there were readers. He was succeeded by Mr James Storey. The work was extended among the Moslems at Nicosia; the Gospels and Proverbs were bought for use in the Turkish schools; the Scriptures were on sale at Famagosta and Limasol; and a Biblewoman, one of six connected with the British Syrian Mission, found a welcome among her sisters of the harem. At the close of the period 14,000 copies of the Word of God had been placed in the hands of the Cypriotes.

In 1863 "the homeliest and most modest court in Europe" gave England a future queen and the Hellenes a youthful sovereign; and in the following March King George accepted in private audience a handsome Bible in Modern Greek which Dr Thomson presented on behalf of the Society. The gracious incident was, unhappily, of no more than personal interest. Education had yet done little to rouse the people from their indifference; the more eager spirits of the time sought for a revival of national greatness in the dreams of "Hellenism"; the Orthodox Church, which viewed with dismay the results of even the precarious freedom granted in Turkey, jealously resisted every movement which seemed to reflect on its supremacy. The people were warned against the Scriptures in the only language they understood. To the outspoken disapproval of many in the public press, even the poor wretches who lay in prison, unclassified, without employment or instruction, were denied the benefit of the Word of God by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

Besides the headquarters at Athens, there were depôts at Corfu and Kalamata on the south coast of the Morea,

and a small stock of Scriptures was held by the Church Missionary Society in the island of Syra. From 1860 to 1866 the circulation fluctuated between 1200 and 1400 copies; but the free grants to schools had ceased, and the sales, small as they were, betokened a growing interest in sacred things. In 1866 Dr Kalopothakes passed into the service of the American Bible Society, and Mr Dewar, who had been selected for pioneer work in Thessaly, became his successor. In four years he and his assistant, Mr Koulouriotis, an Albanian, travelled far and wide over a land once shining in heroic annals and enchanted song, now so sunk in ignorance and superstition that even "to take up the cross and follow Christ" had only one meaning for the people—to carry a cross in procession through the streets. Mr Dewar joined the American and Foreign Christian Mission in 1870,[1] and his work was taken up by Mr Koulouriotis. More than once the arbitrary interference of Greek prelates had been stopped by Government telegrams; it was reserved for Greek officials, in the islands spontaneously ceded by England ten years before, to commit the most flagrant violation of the law. In 1872 Mr Koulouriotis was arrested at Corfu, his Scriptures were declared prohibited by the Holy Synod, and his sales forbidden. On his insisting on his rights as a Greek citizen, the police virtually appealed to the mob. His books were destroyed, and he himself escaped with difficulty to the protection of the Vice-consul. All attempts to obtain redress from the Government and the law courts were defeated by the influence of the Church.

But from this point there were signs of distinct progress. First two and then four colporteurs took the field. In the south-eastern districts of the Morea the Scriptures were introduced into the schools despite the opposition of the bishop. The British and American depôts at Athens were united beneath one roof in 1874, under the general supervision

[1] His widow became a Biblewoman at Athens in the last years of the period.

of Dr Kalopothakes; and in 1876, for the sake of saving time, labour, and expense, it was arranged that Continental Greece and the Cyclades on one side, and the Ionian Islands and the Morea on the other, should be worked year about by the colporteurs of each Society.

These signs of progress were not lost on the ecclesiastical authorities, and when the spiritual change produced by the spread of evangelical truth took such concrete form as the organisation of a Greek Protestant Church at Athens, the Holy Synod decided that strong measures should be used to put a stop to the circulation of the Scriptures. It condemned in a public circular the editions published by the Society, whether in Ancient or in Modern Greek. The Ministry of Education peremptorily forbade their sale. This order was shown to be illegal and was withdrawn; but the Scriptures were excluded from the national schools, and the people were warned against buying them.

In these circumstances the Societies gladly adopted a course which, it was hoped, might lead to a better understanding and to friendly co-operation. Conscious of the imperfection of all translations, they offered to bear the expense of a revision of the Modern Greek version made in collaboration with the Holy Synod itself. Unfortunately nothing came of these overtures. Some inattention to formalities, it was said, precluded their presentation to the august court; a more probable explanation of their failure was the sensitive dread lest the dignity of the Holy Synod should be compromised by proposals which did not leave the choice of revisers wholly in its hands.

The Greek press strongly remonstrated against these displays of religious intolerance, threw its weight on the side of vernacular translations, and ably defended the Society's version. In 1880 Makrakes and his party—the leader, whatever his limitations, a firm believer in the authority of the Scriptures—shamed the Holy Synod and

the Government into making the New Testament in the original Greek a text-book in all the schools of the kingdom; and eventually the Holy Synod, which had at first withheld its sanction, affixed its seal to the edition prepared for the purpose by the Society. But for the Modern Greek version, the work of the first scholars of the country, and the only form in which the Bible could be understood by the bulk of the population, neither ecclesiastical nor official recognition could be obtained. Its language, which was the language of the University, the Law Courts, and the Legislature, was condemned by the "Hellenists" as an intolerable patois, and the purpose of the Holy Synod was well served by their enthusiasm for a classic revival.

In face of the hostility provoked by these manifestoes—threatened, abused, beaten, and expelled; but occasionally befriended, encouraged by some good teacher, priest, or monk; protected by a just demarch; in one instance recommended by a bishop who acknowledged that he had been misled in regard to their books — the colporteurs travelled fearlessly and patiently through Greece and the Islands. In the last five years of the period they distributed 20,650 copies of Scripture. It was less than the circulation along the coast of Asia Minor and the Turkish Islands (20,779), and a good deal less than the circulation in the Turkish capital alone (25,230), but it was some 40 per cent. of the entire circulation in Greece from 1861 (about 51,000 copies). The kingdom of the Hellenes, however, was but a small portion of the greater Greece in which the Word of God was circulated.

We briefly note at this point the chief figures connected with the work of the Turkish Agency. During the thirty years £155,168 was expended on its operations—£63,324 in the first, and £91,844 in the second half of the period. Of this amount colportage absorbed £6190 in the first half,

and £31,069 in the second. The receipts in the first fifteen years amounted to £13,026; in the second fifteen, to £32,705—a total of £45,731.

Upwards of 903,000 copies of Scripture were circulated —322,500 up to 1869, and 581,000 from 1869 to 1884. From 1860 onward the principal language groups were :— Greek (including Græco-Turkish and Albanian), 262,700 copies circulated; Bulgarian (including Sclavic), 107,482; Jewish (including Hebrew, Judæo-German, and Judæo-Spanish, in which last the revised New Testament was published in 1878), 69,000; Armenian (including Armeno-Turkish and Kurd), 56,600; and Turkish, 32,537.[1]

Dr Thomson was in the twenty-fourth year of his agency; and his colleague, Mr William Sellar, who entered the service of the Society as colporteur in the Crimean war, had been depositary since 1856.

[1] These agency figures include the work in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

BARBARY, SYRIA, AND EGYPT

With the development of steam traffic, and finally with the opening of the Suez Canal, Malta gradually ceased in the sixties to be "the crowded 'change and glittering sea-mart" at the crossways of three continents; and its decline as a Bible centre for Africa and the East was hastened by the rise of the great agencies. Still there was a lively influx of travellers and tourists, and the flags of many nations fluttered in its picturesque harbour. The Maltese watermen asked double and treble fare for the carriage of "heretical books," but good friends provided a boat, and a volunteer Bibleman was able to do his work without expense. Most welcome to him in this gathering of foreign ships was the sight of Russian war-vessels. On one frigate alone 1045 New Testaments and Portions were bought between 1861 and 1867, at a cost of £32. Some Moorish craft at times brought over Jew pedlars from Tripoli, who took back, with their English cottons and hardware, 600 or 700 copies of Hebrew Scriptures. These were merchandise for the yearly caravan which crossed the black basalt hills into Fezzan and passed south to the Sahara, exchanging the Word of God for ostrich feathers and raw silk, ivory and gold-dust, cochineal and precious stones. No Christian missionary had ever reached the Children of Israel scattered here along the confines of the Desert.

Among the Maltese the spread of the Gospel seemed a thing past hope. On the appearance of a Waldensian

colporteur in 1866 the priests raised such a storm of fanaticism that, to prevent bloodshed, the sale of the Scriptures and religious books in the streets was prohibited. And yet in the secret places of the heart, who can say what spiritual miracles may have been wrought? In the public sale-rooms, which so often contain curious and touching revelations of family life, it was observed that many volumes published by the Society had been owned—read and preserved apparently for years—by lawyers and doctors, magistrates and gentlemen of position, who had learned, perchance, a truer faith than they dared profess.

The circulation of the depôt steadily fell from 13,950 in 1861 to a little over 1700 in 1868; and two years later effect was given to a new arrangement, which had long been inevitable.[1] Syria, the Holy Land, and Egypt were added, as we have noted, to the Constantinople Agency. Malta and North Africa still remained in connection with Italy. Provision was made for the islanders and the English residents and garrison by transferring part of the stock to Mr Watson, a book-seller in Valetta; and Mr Kirby, who had served the Society in Malta for over twenty years, was appointed sub-agent for Egypt under Dr Thomson.

The last incidents in the story of the Malta Agency were the collection of £19 for the Spanish Fund, and the publication of 1000 copies of St Matthew in Maltese, the cost of which was subscribed by English workmen out of their weekly earnings in the Valetta dockyards. The Acts followed; and 1000 copies of St John—a revision of the translation obtained by the Rev. W. Jowett, one of the first Malta secretaries—appeared in 1872.

Disappointing as the work in the island had been, a striking change had taken place among the people. These

[1] The total issues from the union with Italy to the end of 1870 numbered 66,000 copies, but only a portion of these were circulated in the island.

books did not rekindle the fierce hatred which blazed out when the Maltese Testament was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1847.[1] The Scriptures, once kept from public view, were now displayed for sale in the old Treasury of the Knights of St John, in one of the best streets in Valetta. Besides the military churches there were Episcopalian and Presbyterian places of worship—in curious contrast with the time when Protestants met for divine service in a private house, with a soldier or a policeman guarding the door. The burial of a Protestant was once regarded "as that of a dog"; now, wrote Mr Kirby, "we often see respectable Maltese uncovering as a funeral cortege passes, and you may even hear them say in reference to some consistent Protestant, 'There goes a good man!' or 'If he is lost, who can hope to be saved?'" The position of Protestantism in Malta had all along been an anomaly. There, as elsewhere, British statesmen, quixotically magnanimous, exaggerated their respect for the liberty justly granted to another religion by the repression of their own; and it was not strange that those whose freedom as Englishmen in an English possession was overridden by the insolence of a bigoted clergy and curtailed in deference to a superstitious populace, should have almost wished to see the Italian colours flying from the halyards of Britain. Under their folds at least a colporteur would have been free to traverse the island, protected in his lawful calling against the brutality of a rabble hounded on by ecclesiastics scarcely less ignorant than themselves.

From 1875 to 1878 free contributions amounting to £52 were sent from friends in the island to the Bible House, and in the latter year some hundreds of Eastern Scriptures were distributed among the Indian troops brought to Malta. But the annual circulation dropped hopelessly, until in 1879

[1] On the death of the translator interment in the Romish cemeteries was refused; the drawbridge at Porta Reale had to be drawn up against the furious populace, and the guard turned out to save the dead from outrage.

only 43 copies were issued. Mr J. May, of the Soldiers and Sailors Institute, was placed in charge of the stock in 1880; a depôt was opened, and the sales rose to some 300 copies, but only to fal' away again. Stones were flung through the depôt windows, his street-lamp was twice broken, and torn tracts were thrown inside his door; still it seemed to him that "a good number" of Maltese would have welcomed instruction, but that they feared persecution and the loss of employment if they changed their creed.

During the thirteen years (1871-83) 1497 copies of Scripture were sold in the island, though few of these went to the Maltese; the population numbered 150,000, with a priest to every hundred; and henceforth the only chance of brighter days in Malta seemed to lie in the spread of the English or the Italian language through the schools to the people.

At Tunis and Constantine, Oran and Algiers, the work of distribution was continued by the little band of the Jewish Mission—Löwitz and Benoliel, Ginsburg, Fenner, and the rest. The Scriptures were carried from town to town by Jew pedlars. From the colporteur's tent, pitched on Moslem ground at the great fairs of Algiers, they were sold amid the motley throng of bare-legged Arabs in white burnouses, French sailors, Beni M'zab in coats of many colours, stalwart negroes from the Soudan, Zouaves and Turcos in smart uniforms, Moors in embroidered jackets, full trousers, and white stockings, dark-turbaned Israelites, Spaniards and Maltese, while now and again priests examined the books with looks of indignation. Mr Ginsburg presented them to friendly sheiks on his journeys through the Tunisian desert; and at Kerouan (Kirwân) the Holy, within whose walls neither Christian nor Jew was suffered to reside, an Arabic Bible was accepted by the Governor.

When the Arab tribes revolted in 1864 M. Pressensé

stationed a French colporteur at Algiers, a depôt was opened, Testaments and Gospels were distributed among the French troops, and the hospitals were visited. In 1868 the Rev. A. Benoliel was drawn to the colonies of his countrymen along the shores of Morocco. He spent several weeks at Casa Blanca, Rabat, Sallee,[1] Tangier, and Tetuan with his brother Moses, who accompanied him as colporteur, and who served the Society in that capacity for the next nine years.

Tripoli was thrown into a ferment by a visit from Mr Fenner in 1869. Little could be done in face of the hostility of Mohammedan muftis, Jewish rabbis, and Roman Catholic priests, but the Gospel was preached on many occasions, and the missionary left Arabic Bibles with the kaids, who gave him hospitality. Returning along the eastern coast of Tunis he disposed of a number of books, and the Word of God was accepted with delight by the vice-admiral and the captain of the Bey's frigate.

A large and unexpected distribution took place at the close of the Franco-German war. Many hundreds of Bibles, Testaments, and Portions were brought back from Germany by the prisoners of war; and great quantities of the books scattered over Spain by zealous but oftentimes unadvised persons were collected and brought as merchandise by traders to the African ports. So in remote places, and among unknown people, the strife and the thoughtlessness of men may have been turned to high issues by God's Providence.

At rare intervals only do we learn anything of the actual details of this North African work. In the summer of 1873 we get the first glimpse of the date-palms of Djerba, the Homeric isle of "the lotus-eating men." Centuries before the destruction of the second temple, a Hebrew colony settled there, and it was to their descendants that the missionaries

[1] The hornets'-nest of the "Sallee rovers." As late as the middle of the eighteenth century they would lie under Lundy Island to cut out British merchantmen.

Mrs Ranyard

took the message of the Gospel. For eight days, however, scores of intelligent and influential Roman Catholics, who "could no longer accept the dogmas made by an infallible Pope," came in the evening to question them on the doctrines of Protestantism.

In 1878 Mr Ginsburg attempted to settle at Mogador on the west coast of Morocco. The "wonderful book" was presented to the Sultan (who sent to inquire as to the "new creed"), to his brother, and to the Pasha of the capital, but before many copies of the Scriptures were sold, the missionary was driven from the city by persecution.

For over twenty years that North Africa formed part of the Italian Agency, Oran and Algiers were the chief centres of distribution; and apart from the supplies voted for the French columns engaged in suppressing tribal revolts, nearly 50,000 copies of Scripture were put into circulation on behalf of the Society. But as in addition to these the Jewish Missions and other friends took a generous part in promoting the work, there are no means of discovering the actual extent to which the Word of God was spread abroad.

The time came at length for the Society to bring within its organised system the half-heathen Lands of the Sun, once consecrated with the blood of the Christian Church, and still illumined by memories of Cyprian and Tertullian, Monica and Augustine. At the close of 1881 the Rev. J. Löwitz, for thirty years in the service of the British Jews' Society, was appointed to the agency of North Africa, which included Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. The French Protestant Churches in conference expressed their satisfaction and thankfulness in a formal resolution. At Oran Mr Moses Benoliel resumed his connection with the Society. A French colporteur was engaged for the province of Constantine, an Italian for Tunis. Mr J. May, a French namesake of the depositary at Malta, joined the staff at Algiers, and his wife was placed in charge of the depôt, which had been opened

on the urgent representation of Miss Beamish.[1] In 1883 a local committee was formed in the capital, and as the period closed, Bible-work entered on a new era along the southern shores of the Mediterranean.

On his return to England after a journey among the Kabyles in the wooded hills of the Djur-djura in 1881, Mr George Pearse published a stirring appeal, which resulted in the formation of the Mission to the Kabyles, afterwards better known as the North Africa Mission. He obtained a translation of the first seven chapters of St Matthew in Kabyli or Berber;[2] Mr Robert Needham Cust, a gifted member of the Committee, visited Algeria in the hope of finding a Kabyle scholar to undertake a version of the New Testament; and in 1883 Dr Sauerwein, one of the most versatile of the Society's linguists, was sent to study on the spot that remarkable unwritten language which is exclusively spoken in the Djur-Djura and among the Chawia of the Aurés Mountains, prevails with various local differences over two-thirds of Morocco, and spreads through the Sahara almost to the Senegal.[3] He brought back with him a translation of St John, made by an Arab who had assisted Père Olivier with his French-Kabyle Dictionary.[4]

These matters were still in progress when the Committee found in Mr William Mackintosh the very man they needed for the exploration of the little known empire of Morocco. After volunteer experience in Egypt and a number of years' service in the Syrian Christian schools, he had returned in ill-health from Damascus, but the change to his native Scotch

[1] This devoted lady, who was specially interested in the distribution of the Scriptures among the pilgrims to Jerusalem, died at Algiers of diphtheria, 29th December 1882, a week after Lady Sebright's little daughter, whom she had been nursing.

[2] The Committee were prepared to print the whole Gospel under the supervision of Francis William Newman, younger brother of Cardinal Newman, but he found the translation so faulty that the work was stopped.

[3] Playfair, *Algeria and Tunis*, p. 12.

[4] As early as 1833 twelve chapters of the Gospel of St Luke in Lesser Kabyli (Berber) was printed by the Society.—Vol. ii. p. 27.

air restored him. He reached Tangier, and made several journeys inland. The country was more accessible, the people were more friendly than he had expected, and in a few months his perfect mastery of Arabic enabled him to venture on a translation of some chapters of St Matthew in the dialect of the Riff tribes. He was offered and accepted the agency of Morocco; a depôt was opened at Tangier; one of his old Syrian scholars, Milham Shehadi, who, as interpreter to the British generals, had in the meanwhile been present at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir and the surrender of Arabi, joined him as colporteur; and a long record of strange travels and deeply interesting Bible experiences began. At the same time, after three years' absence, Mr Ginsburg returned with a supply of Arabic Scriptures to his post at Mogador.

Thus, in the sequence of a slow but ever hopeful development, the Society planted its North African Agencies just sixty years after its Scriptures first reached the oases of Bornou and the green plains of Fezzan.[1]

Events now take us back to Syria and Egypt at the date of their annexation to the Italian Agency.

Before the close of 1860 Van Dyck's Arabic translation of the New Testament left the press; and on the 23rd August 1864 that gifted scholar completed the task of sixteen laborious years. The Beyrout Bible, which was speedily adopted as the standard of all Protestant missionaries, was one of the great versions of the world; for from the shores of Morocco and the Mohammedan villages in the depths of the Soudan to the swarming cities of China, Arabic was the speech of 120,000,000 people.

The electrotyping of the version was, as we have seen, one of the leading incidents in the celebration of the jubilee of the American Bible Society in 1866. The London

[1] Vol. ii. p. 26.

Committee had already been allowed to produce the Pentateuch and the New Testament at the Beyrout Mission Press, but on this happy occasion duplicate plates of the whole Bible were generously placed at the service of the Society by its American sister, and 5000 copies were printed at the Clarendon Press in 1869. For the benefit of less educated readers electroplates of an edition with full vowel points were prepared for the Committee by Dr Van Dyck; 6000 Bibles and New Testaments appeared in 1871; and in recognition of the gift of 1866 a set of these plates was presented to the American Bible Society.

The illiteracy of the people was a more formidable obstruction to Bible-work than even their inveterate superstition and turbulent fanaticism; but year after year the advances of Christian education were slowly breaking through the dense ignorance of centuries. The devoted energy, the bright enthusiasm of Mrs Bowen Thompson kept the Committee in close touch with the British Syrian schools, which were begun after the shocking massacres of the Lebanon. Grants of Scriptures in Arabic, Greek and Turkish, French, German and English were constantly passing out from the Bible House, and grateful letters described a progress which extended far beyond the schools themselves.

In 1867 nearly 3000 boys, girls, and women had learned or were learning to read the Scriptures. The year 1868 was one of notable enterprise. A school for the blind was opened at Beyrout, and the Committee printed Arabic Gospels, prepared by her brother-in-law, Mr Mentor Mott—St Mark at the Mission Press, St Matthew in England. A girls' school, with a small school for the blind, was started at Damascus. Another was founded at Zahleh, the largest village in Lebanon; such a village—with its white houses among terraced vineyards, its green river, from a dark cleft in the mountain, flowing between rows of poplars through the glen—as showed what Syria might become under good

government. For all its beauty the place was seething with fanaticism, but it was "a great door to the Kesrouan, the hot-bed of the Jesuits and the Maronites," among whom some of the Society's Bibles had found their way, and had not failed to produce their effect. Instruction was spreading among the harems; native women in one quarter of Beyrout hired a room for themselves, and were visited daily by the teachers she sent. From Tyre came a petition that she should establish a school there; the chief Druse prince in the Hauran pressed her to extend her work to the cities of Bashan; but who, she asked, was "sufficient for these things"?

Her health failed in 1869. She left for England in the autumn. In a little more than five weeks—an interval lit up almost to the end by the conviction that it was God's will that she should return to her beloved Syrians—she was called to her rest. Her mission was continued by her sisters Mrs Mentor Mott and Mrs Henry Smith. The Society's sympathy and support were not wanting; and in addition to the ordinary Scriptures, new Arabic portions for the blind, to be prepared by the Rev. Dr Lansing of Cairo, were undertaken by the Committee.

A year or so later Mr Pritchett and Mr Mackintosh entered Kesrouan, the stronghold of the Maronites.[1] The whole district was dotted with convents; monks, priests, and Jesuits ruled supreme. They took no tent, but put up nightly at some village. Neighbours would drop in to see "the Englishmen"; a Gospel would be shown them;

[1] A singularly interesting Christian sect, whose history revealed the lengths to which Rome would concede in return for the acknowledgment of her supremacy. It originated during the Monothelite controversy of the seventh century, received its name from the monastery of the holy abbot Maro around which it found refuge in the Lebanon, and maintained its heretical doctrine down to the time of the Crusades. In the twelfth century it came in contact with the Church of Rome; in the fifteenth it entered into formal union on large conditions of independence. It was allowed to retain its ancient liturgy, communion in both kinds, marriage of the clergy, and a form of Mass in which the consecrated elements were not "reserved" and the Gospels were read in Arabic, the tongue of the people.

there would be talk of the crops, of the village, the church, the schools, of France, perhaps, and the German victories. Then upon some reference to the Bible, chapter would be read after chapter, and religious topics discussed round the log fire on the clay floor till far into the night. All would join in prayer before parting, and one and another ask for a Gospel. Sometimes the presence of a priest or two, who came and stayed to the end, prevented all Bible-work. Where the land belonged to the convents, as it did in many places, the peasant was a spiritual serf; where the sheiks were owners, the priest had less power, and the Word of God was spoken of, passages from it were read, in his hearing. One sheik, indeed, who had been moved — he scarcely knew how—to purchase the Scriptures, was convinced that "the teaching of his Church was as far from Bible truth as his village was from Stamboul."

It was not long before they came in contact with the violent fanaticism of the place. The Bishop sent a circular to every village in Kesrouan forbidding the people to speak to the strangers, but warning them to do no injury; from the convent roofs monks watched their course, and whenever they were admitted to a house, a messenger brought an order from the priests that the Englishmen should be told to go on their way. But they had seen that the Maronite fastness was assailable, that almost everywhere there were a few people who would gladly hear and read the Word of God, and that the peasants were extremely desirous that their children should have the worldly advantage of education. The Christian schools on Lebanon had produced such an effect that even here and there in Kesrouan the priests had been compelled to open schools of their own.

At Beyrout, the chief centre of the Society's operations in Syria, a colporteur was appointed in 1864, and travelled among the Lebanon mountains and along the shore of the Mediterranean; another, stationed at Damascus, carried the

Scriptures to the numberless sects in the villages of the great plateau, beneath the snowy bulk of Hermon, and among the folds of Anti-Lebanon, but a successor could not be found when he retired in 1869.

When Syria and Palestine were transferred to the Turkish Agency at the close of 1870 Dr Thomson visited his new district. At Beyrout, the busy port of Damascus and the East, the Committee joined the American Bible Society in the occupation of new premises, in which, free from observation, the townspeople, native traders, and travellers might obtain the Scriptures they required. An increased circulation proved the wisdom of the change. Employment was given to a blind old Bibleman, Abou Selim, connected with the Syrian schools. A colporteur, Risq Butros, was placed under the direction of the Rev. James Robertson, of the Church of Scotland Mission, who had long acted in the interests of the Society, and had himself made tours among the Jews in Upper Galilee.

At one time in the coast towns, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Haifa at the foot of Carmel, at another among the Galilean hills as far east as Nazareth, frequently in Lebanon, Butros travelled for five years in Syria. Messengers were sent into Kesrouan to warn the people against him. At Ghazir a priest attempted to fling his books into a stream, and hired porters to carry them outside the boundary of the district. As late as '79 the Maronites refused to give him a lodging or to sell him bread, and he had to trudge on till he found shelter with a Moslem. But it was a sign of progress that controversy was listened to where once it was not tolerated, and that in mixed villages the priests were expected "to defend their Churches against the Word of God." So serious had been the effect produced by mission-work, school-work, and the circulation of the Scriptures, that the Jesuits, finding they could not hold their ground merely by anathematising the pestilent books,

undertook the publication of "a more correct Arabic version." The Bible in three volumes, printed at Beyrout, appeared between 1878 and 1882,[1] and helped to check the colporteur's sales, for Butros met with it "in pretty many places, adorned with pictures, in a larger type than ours, and offered at a lower price; indeed the Psalms, offered at about 3d., are often given gratis."

Colportage was resumed at Damascus in 1872, but here, as in so many other places where zeal outran judgment, Bible-work had been made almost impossible by people who were eager for its success. Writing of a colportage tour in the Hauran, one of the Irish Presbyterian missionaries —the Rev. William Wright, afterwards a brilliant member of the Bible House staff—made a vehement protest against that indiscriminate giving of the Scriptures, which exposed the books to contempt and the colporteur to suspicion as a rogue.

A joint depôt on the Beyrout plan was opened in the Moslem quarter of Damascus in 1874, but the results were so disappointing that it was discontinued two years later, and distribution was left to the Irish missionaries, who had always had a store of Scriptures at their disposal. Yet in that old-world city of Bible memories, that wonderful Eastern medley of brilliant colour and squalor, marble and sun-dried mud, bowered in fruit and forest trees among running waters, there was inscribed the assurance of ultimate success. Over a sculptured portal of the Great Mosque — a portal through which the Emperor Arcadius may have entered the church of "the blessed John the Baptist"— was still legible, after twelve hundred years of Mohammedan rule, the Greek legend: "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an

[1] The translators were assisted by Ibrahim El-Yaziji, son of the scholar who worked with Dr Eli Smith on the Beyrout version. They followed the original Hebrew and Greek, but gave precedence to the Vulgate on points of faith and morals.

everlasting Kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations."[1]

From the first, Dr Thomson had strongly urged uniformity of prices and circulation by sale alone; but many workers declared the system impracticable, and as late as 1881 he had still to express his regret that after more than twenty years of successful labour, the directors of the British Syrian schools seemed to have taken no steps to train their pupils to buy the Scriptures at however low a price. In this year 590 copies were granted for use in thirty schools, numbering about three thousand pupils, and in Bible classes of Moslem, Druse, Jewish, and Christian women. It was decided, however, in 1882 to meet all educational requirements in Syria and Palestine by supplying the Scriptures at half the ordinary sale price—a figure considerably below half the cost of production, and the arrangement was received with general satisfaction. In the latter part of the period hopes of expansion were encouraged by the sales of Dr Martin of the Reformed Presbyterian Mission at Antioch, the Reformed Mission at Latakia, and a correspondent at Tarsus, but for a time colportage was suspended. Among the grants in these years may be mentioned a distribution of about 500 copies among the Ottoman troops embarking at Beyrout for the Russo-Turkish war, a consignment to the Archbishop Migherditch at Aintab, and small supplies to the Friends' Mission at Lebanon, Miss Tanner at Baalbec, and the blind Bibleman, Abou Selim.

Many visitors—pashas and sheiks, effendis and merchants, Russian seamen and Turkish soldiers—called at the book-shop on Mount Zion. Several hundreds of copies, in as many as

[1] Ps. cxlv. 13, with the addition of the words "O Christ." It is possible that on this site stood "the house of Rimmon" (2 Kings, v. 18); that the worship of Baal was superseded by the worship of Jupiter; and that Arcadius built the church of St John the Baptist from the ruins of the superb temple of Jupiter destroyed by his father Theodosius (*C.* A.D. 390). The church was converted into a mosque by the Khalif Welid, who clove with his battle-axe the sacred image over the high altar. (A.D. 705.)

fifteen languages, were sold annually among the crowds of pilgrims who poured into the Holy City for several weeks before Easter; but watchful priests flitted everywhere, warning their countrymen, so that the number of books distributed was a mere fraction compared with the throngs of people. At the pilgrim port of Jaffa, where colportage was tried, the same hostile influence frustrated the effort, and even the stock of Scriptures which had been kept for some years in the place was at length given up. At Jerusalem in 1873 a depôt was started in conjunction with the Church Missionary Society outside the busy Jaffa Gate, and placed in charge of the Rev. F. W. Klein, the discoverer of the Moabite Stone. A colporteur traversed the country from "the great sea" to Kerek in Moab and visited many a storied spot. In every direction he found bigotry, illiteracy, and evidences of the waste and abuse of gratuitous distribution. At Nablous the Hegoumen of a monastery told him he had "as many of those books as would load a camel"; at Gaza the volumes scattered without thought were collected by the priest and burnt; in one town he sold twelve copies, in another he sold but one. In 1877 colportage in Judæa was abandoned as useless.

In response to Miss Beamish, who bore some part of the expense, special measures were afterwards taken on behalf of the Russian pilgrims—those poor, fervid, uncouth peasants, the dream of whose life was to see the sacred places. Years were spent in saving the treasure of £2 needed for the return voyage between Odessa and Jaffa; they plodded for weeks, for months over the steppes, living on water and black bread, resting on the grass at some church or monastery, sleeping in the open air; for ten days they were packed like cattle on the steamers. Death by the roadside in the Holy Land they reckoned the happiest fate that could befall them. Between 1880 and 1883 about 27,000 copies of Scriptures were given away among these and the other pilgrims; but through some

misadventure the distribution did not take place in the last year of the period.[1]

A small depôt was opened by the Rev. S. Müller at Bethlehem in 1876, and was fairly successful in spite of the anathemas of the Roman clergy, who by a strange irony were the proud possessors of the cell in which St Jerome toiled at his version. Finally, Nazareth became a bright centre of activity. Moslems and Greeks, Jews and Maronites, pilgrims and strangers from many lands were constantly passing through the little town of low, flat-roofed houses, huddled together in those days for safety on the hillside. The Church Missionary Society had been stationed there some time: the Society's books were scattered in the surrounding villages and used in the school and orphanage of the Female Education Society; and in 1870, shortly after the establishment of the Edinburgh Medical Mission, a depôt had been begun on the suggestion of Dr Vartan, who supervised the work of depositary and colporteur. But in the district about Nazareth only three or four in every hundred could read. In all this ancient land, where an inscribed stone preserved a script older than Homer, the people in point of literacy were far behind the South Sea Islanders or the Red Men of the prairies.

Though some independent work was done by the Association or local committee at Alexandria, the Society's operations in Egypt formed in the main an inseparable part of those of the American Mission. It furnished supplies of books, and contributed to the cost of Nile boats which enabled colportage in towns and villages and at the great fairs to extend from Damietta to the First Cataract at Assouan; it had its share in the stirring of the Moslem spirit, in the awakening among the Coptic Christians in Fayoum, at Siout, and Koos, in the

[1] Bishop Barclay, a Vice-President of the Society, who directed the arrangements for the distribution, died in October 1881, in the third year of his episcopate.

progress of native churches and schools; but there are no details to show the extent of its distributions or of its financial support.

The Committee felt there was need for separate action on their own lines. In 1865, with a view to a regular agency, Mr Bruce obtained for a time the services of Mr Ostertag of the St Chrischona Mission, and some excellent work was done among the towns and villages of the Delta and as far south as the great market in the Fayoum. These St Chrischona men—the pioneers of that famous "Pilgrims' Way" of which we shall hear more in the next chapter—had founded stations at Cairo and Assouan, and, ascending the Cataracts, had settled at Khartoum and Metemma on the Abyssinian border. In 1867 a depôt at Khartoum, 2000 miles from the sea, was stocked from Malta. As few among the people could read, a school was opened for Coptic, Armenian, and Mohammedan children; and there was a Bible class, attended by two Coptic priests and three Moslem teachers.

What region in Africa was so inspiring as this ancient land of Cush? Below the Fourth Cataract the waters of the Nile rolled past the pyramids, mounds, and fallen columns of the capital of Queen Candace. Thither the first tidings of Christ—the preaching of Philip—were brought by the first Ethiop Christian, the Eunuch "who was over all her treasure." When Gaul was still pagan "Ethiopia had its myriad churches; and sandstone caves in the Nubian hills held Christian hermits when Druids were sacrificing in the oak glades of Britain."[1]

In 1869 the relations of the Society and the American Mission were drawn closer by the frustrated attempt of the Coptic Patriarch to engage the authorities in a violent suppression of Protestantism; but after the arrival of Mr Kirby from Malta as sub-agent the question of separate work

[1] Butler, *The Campaign of the Cataracts*, p. 62.

was again mooted, and it was not until 1873 that co-operative action, by which rivalry and waste would be prevented, the most suitable men would be most readily obtained for colportage, and their duties supervised by the missionaries who selected them, was pronounced the course "most desirable in every way." The Committee accordingly combined with the Mission and the American Bible Society; a fixed sum was contributed yearly towards the cost of the depôts at Cairo, Siout, and Mansura, and half of the amount realised by sales was allowed for colportage.

Meanwhile Mr Kirby had fitted up a depôt opposite the British Consulate in Alexandria. At the outset a single colporteur was employed — principally in Alexandria and Cairo, but also in the Delta towns, and at Suez, Ismailia, and Port Said on the Suez Canal, which had been opened in 1869. The sense of responsibility in this new region was deepened by the purchase of the Khedive's Canal shares, and after some temporary expedients a regular colporteur was stationed at Port Said, to work among the thousands of vessels passing through from East and West.[1]

In the course of time one saw the blessed results of long and prayerful labour. The anathemas of the Coptic ecclesiastics lost their power. New congregations gathered strength in the grace of the Gospel. In Siout Protestant influence was strong enough to transfer the holding of fairs from the traditional Sunday. Nowhere under Mohammedan rule were so many children receiving Christian instruction. In the Thebaid women and their little ones took part in the meetings of the travelling evangelist—a rare sight in the lands of the Crescent. The multiplication of Arabic Scriptures in embossed type raised up numbers of blind teachers, blind distributers of both sexes. The Bible boats of the Mission passed up and down the Nile, putting in at

[1] The number in 1883 was 3307, and the colporteur's sales in that year amounted to 2397 copies.

the mud villages, where the pigeons circled round the Coptic towers, and the shadoof or the crying "Persian wheel" watered the date trees and dhurra fields, and naked children raced on the banks. Colporteurs frequented the city streets and bazaars. The evangelist with his books crossed the Libyan Desert to the Western Oasis—in the days of the Mamelukes a settlement of 14,000 Christians guarded from robber tribes by Saracen soldiers,[1] but now there were only ninety nominal believers, occasionally visited by a Coptic priest, and a single copy of the Bible in the ten villages —a volume in Arabic saved from wanton destruction by a Moslem sheik. On his visit to Egypt, Dr Manning of the Religious Tract Society told the anniversary meeting in 1880, he saw everywhere the evidence of a vigorous evangelisation. At Siout, where he read over a large building the English and Arabic inscription "Depôt of the British and Foreign Bible and Religious Tract Societies," a staff of seventy or eighty fellahin converts carried the Word of God far and wide through Central Egypt. Even beyond the First Cataract a Coptic priest among the palms and broken temples on Philae showed him with pride and joy a Bible from the Society's shelves in Cairo.

Outside these joint operations the Bible cause was assisted by many workers — notable among them, Dr Yule of the Church of Scotland Mission, Mr Reichardt of the London Jews Society, the Dutch Mission at Kalioub near Cairo, Miss Whately, daughter of the Archbishop of Dublin, whose schools were supplied for many years from the Bible House; and towards the close there was a hint of a new field in the purchase of 100 Hebrew Bibles for a Swedish school at Sana in Yemen, some distance north of Aden.

There were now two colporteurs connected with the Alexandria depôt which was removed in 1881 to a more

[1] A tax for that old protection was still paid to certain families, descendants of these soldiers, at Kalamoon.

attractive site in the Boulevard de Ramleh. Among the strangers who called was a Calabrian image-seller who brought two carved wooden figures to exchange for an Italian Testament, and Kalakaua, King of the Sandwich Islands, who bought a large Bible to present to the Khedive. In the course of the year Dr Thomson came on a tour of inspection, and formed a local committee to discuss financial matters and to advise the sub-agent. It was the last official act in a chapter that was nearly closed.

We need not speak here of the discontent in the Egyptian army, the jealousies and hesitations of the European Powers, the tortuous intrigues of the Sultan (intent on a fiery revival throughout the Moslem world), which resulted in the Egyptian upheaval of 1882. On the 20th May the French and British ships of war appeared before Alexandria. On Sunday afternoon, 11th June, the Arab and fellah populace rose in a planned attack on the Europeans. Even the watermen had their cue; the return of parties which went out to view the battleships was delayed till the hour appointed for the outbreak, and the harbour gates were closed after them when they landed. From the balcony of his house Mr Kirby saw the march of the excited mob, men and lads armed with swords, fire-arms, and the six-foot club or nabout, women cheering them on to pillage and murder. He and his family escaped to Malta, where he was able to distribute the Scriptures among the crowd of refugees.

Within a fortnight of the rising, in which fifty or sixty persons were done to death, Arabi received a decoration from the Sultan. England stood alone amid the divided counsels of Europe. Few believed she would interpose single-handed; but the limits of toleration had been passed, and Mr Gladstone was strong in the sense of that righteousness which exalteth a nation.[1] In the Thames,

[1] Holland Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*, pp. 445-459.

at Southampton, Portsea, Devonport, and Liverpool, 17,000 Testaments were distributed among the troops as they embarked for Egypt; and the Auxiliaries at Allahabad and Bombay supplied vernacular Scriptures for the Indian contingent. On the 10th July Alexandria was bombarded. Gaining time by means of a flag of truce, Arabi retreated from the city, which was left to the mercy of released convicts and the rabble. Between four and five hundred persons were massacred; the European quarter was burnt down; and the loss by fire and pillage amounted to £7,000,000 sterling. Infamous and futile strategy! In the grey dawn of the 13th September the earthworks at Tel-el-Kebir were stormed;[1] at sundown a handful of British horse reached Cairo; the citadel and 10,000 Egyptian troops surrendered to 500 sabres, and Arabi gave up his sword.

Shortly after the bombardment Mr Kirby returned to Alexandria. The Boulevard de Ramleh "resembled a street in Pompeii." The depôt and the entire stock had perished, and a claim was lodged for compensation to the extent of £900. It was withdrawn, however, when the Committee understood that the amount would be wrung from the oppressed fellahin whom it was their desire to benefit; and in asking Lord Dufferin to convey the sincere thanks of the Egyptian Government, Cherif Pasha warmly acknowledged "the disinterestedness and elevated sentiments which inspired the decision." Temporary premises were taken, and the colporteurs resumed work among the Greek colony.

But the time had come for larger and more systematic action. Egypt was made the seat of a great agency which should include Syria and the Holy Land, the shores of the Red Sea and the Soudan. An exceptional representative

[1] In the assault on the trenches a Highlander owed his life to a copy of the New Testament which he carried in his haversack.

was found in the Rev. Robert H. Weakley, one of the revisers of the Turkish version, who was then arranging for the withdrawal of the Society from Sweden. The American Mission, which had now fifty-five stations in the Nile Valley, heartily concurred in the project. "We cherish a very warm recollection," wrote the Rev. Drs Lansing and Hogg, "of all the kindness of your Society to us as a Mission. We do not remember to have ever asked anything from you that has been denied us." On the 1st December 1883 Egypt was formally divided from the Turkish Agency.[1]

The expenditure connected with the Bible-work described in this chapter was merged in that of the Turkish and Italian Agencies. As to distribution, between 1873 and the beginning of 1884, 39,270 copies were circulated in Egypt (over 16,000 of these by the American Mission). From 1872 onward the figures for Syria (Beyrout) and Palestine respectively exceeded 15,000 and 39,000 copies.

[1] A few months after his wife's sudden death in 1883, the grave closed over Thomas J. Kirby, who had long served in the Malta depôt before his appointment as sub-agent in Egypt.

CHAPTER XVII

"THE APOSTLES' WAY"

AFTER fourteen years of silence the story of Abyssinia has its sequel in these pages, and the cause of its sudden reappearance is one of those chance incidents which are "the little pebbles that decide the course of great rivers." In the early fifties a girl of one of the Galla tribes was brought from Egypt by a German nobleman on his return home. She was sent by the Queen of Würtemberg to be educated at Kornthal, near Stuttgard; her heart was won for Christ, she received baptism; and some time afterwards she went to Basel on a visit to her god-father, Christian Frederic Spittler, the celebrated philanthropist and one of the founders of the Basel Mission. There, in her twentieth year, Pauline Fatme fell ill and died. In her last moments she called for her god-father, and, lifting up her wasted hands, solemnly entreated him never to forget the Gallas, and to send missionaries and the Bible to her people. The promise given at that touching moment was not forgotten. In concert with Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem, Mr Spittler formed a plan for entering Abyssinia with lay evangelists, who, while securing a welcome by means of Western trades and crafts, should prepare the way for ordained teachers, and eventually for mission work among the Galla tribes.

Dr Krapf and Mr Flad of the London Jews Society were chosen as pioneers of the project. Theodore, who had just established himself supreme ruler in Abyssinia,

was eager to have European craftsmen, and assented to the admission of ordained missionaries even, if they would refrain from causing religious and ecclesiastical divisions in the empire. On the application of the Bishop, 300 Bibles and Testaments in Amharic and a supply of Ethiopic Scriptures were despatched by the Committee in 1856; and crossing the western boundary of Amhara, Mr Flad and the first contingent of the Pilgrim Mission of St Chrischona entered Abyssinia with large boxes which were rumoured to be full of gold and silver tribute from Jerusalem for "the King of Kings." "Have you brought me a gunsmith?" was Theodore's first question. Though the answer was a disappointment, he treated the strangers kindly. Of their Ethiopic Scriptures he would have none. "Why do you bring such books, which nobody understands? What is the use of them? The Amharic are far better; they are understood by every one." But the Abuna, the head of the Abyssinian Church, who bought a whole case of Psalters and Testaments in Ethiopic, would not touch a copy in Amharic, a profane tongue, unfit for prayer, a desecration of the Word of God, whereas the reading of "the holy language," unintelligible though it were to ninety-five out of every hundred of the clergy, was a means of acquiring merit.

This first consignment of the Scriptures was dispersed over fifteen provinces. Groups of men and women listened to the reading of the Gospel and to the explanations of the pilgrims. Priests, men of letters (debteras), monks, soldiers, schoolboys, came from different districts to obtain copies; and when the Felashas (Abyssinian Jews) learned that they too were included in the work of the mission, they sent messengers to their villages to bring their friends. Several of the Portions distributed in bygone days by the Bishop were shown to Mr Flad, and from some of the Bishop's old friends—Alaoa, Habta, and others—he heard

recollections of conversations published more than twenty years before in the *Journal* of the Bishop.

Two more consignments (1240 volumes) reached their destination in April 1859; but during the last stage of the journey, which included three days in the desert, two of the party succumbed to the hardships of the way, and died on the Abyssinian border. Among these books were 100 Bibles in red leather, a special gift, gladly received by the King, to assist him to furnish the churches, and to enforce his reform, that on every Sunday and feast-day the clergy should read to their congregations some chapters of the Old and New Testaments in their common speech.

Meanwhile the brethren of the Pilgrim Mission had gained a remarkable influence over Theodore. They built him roads and bridges, blasted rocks, introduced all kinds of useful arts, distributed the Word of God and testified to its efficacy by their own lives and conversation. In recognition of their civil services they were ennobled. They were allowed to open a school for Felasha children; and the King, who had been led to admit that they were right on the points of divergence between Bible doctrine and ecclesiastical tradition, had partaken with them of the Lord's Supper in token of his acknowledgment.

In 1859 the Committee undertook an edition, in portable form, of the Amharic Psalter, and by the beginning of the following year 2000 copies were ready. But means of communication were scarcely less important than the production of the Scriptures. Letters might take twelve or eighteen months to reach Europe; many never reached Europe at all; and the transport of books was very costly. Musing over these matters and his promise to the dying Galla maiden, Christian Spittler saw in his mind's eye a long line of route — his "Apostles' Way" — stretching from Jerusalem 1800 miles up the green Nile Valley to Gondar. Twelve stations, fifty leagues apart, each named

after one of the Apostles, and each to form the nucleus of a small Christian settlement, should link Alexandria with the old Abyssinian capital. In 1859 the first £100 for each of the twelve stations had been promised; in 1863 three were in operation—at Cairo, Metemma,[1] and one within the empire; a fourth was about to be opened at Khartoum; and after many difficulties six missionaries had obtained leave to labour among the Gallas of the interior. On their side, the Committee had promptly accepted Dr Krapf's offer to undertake a Galla version, and voted him a grant of £300 to carry out the project.

Before this date, however, the London Jews Society was in the field. Large districts were traversed; at the different Felasha villages one volume or two, according to the number of the huts, were left among the people; venerable grey-beards were seen on grassy hillock or under shady tree spelling out the most beautiful Messianic passages; for days men followed the missionaries across the mountains, crying "Abiet, ketab shudus!" ["Master, the Holy Book!"]; and many, convinced of the truth of the Gospel, were already anxious to be baptized. Five hundred copies, chiefly Amharic, were sent out to the Rev. H. Stern, and a money grant was voted towards the cost of carriage through the gorges and along the mountain ledges of a wild and roadless country.

The prospect was at its brightest—a quickened interest stirred all classes, and in many churches the brethren were allowed to expound the Bible to large and attentive congregations — when progress was arrested by Theodore's wrathful outbreak against imaginary insults on the part of England. British officials, English and German missionaries, with their wives and children, artisans and craftsmen, were seized and held in an ominous captivity; but these

[1] Arabic Scriptures were sent in 1864 to the station at Metemma for distribution among the Mohammedans on the Atbara and pilgrims passing to and from the shrine at Mecca.

barbaric reprisals cost him his throne and his life. Magdala was stormed on the 13th April 1868; the King, fallen by his own hand, was found among the slain within the gate; and four days later all that remained of the blood-stained mountain fortress was "a scorched rock."

Before leaving Bombay every European soldier in the expedition was offered a Psalter, Testament, or Gospel, and under the heights of Magdala, wrote Krapf, numbers of the men were seen gathered together for Scripture-reading and prayer. The great missionary himself accepted the post of interpreter on condition that he should be free to employ colporteurs on the line of march, and a plentiful supply of Abyssinian Scriptures was shipped to Aden to meet the troops. Over 20,000 copies of Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews, in Amharic, had left the press a year or two earlier, and, stranger still, 1000 volumes of the Four Gospels in Tigré, by Krapf's old colleague Isenberg, had been printed in time to be available.

There were, indeed, few opportunities for distribution during the advance, but after the withdrawal of the expedition the supplies were committed to two young Abyssinians, former pupils of Dr Wilson of Bombay and friends of Kassai, the powerful Prince of Tigré, who had materially aided the British force. In the course of the year a donation of £100 was received from Tasmania to further the work in Abyssinia, and two of Theodore's captives, Messrs Bender and Mayer, who were eager to resume their mission, were engaged for colportage. The way was beset with difficulties. In the eyes of the priests, Tigré, the language of 3,000,000 people, was more despicable even than Amharic; the common folk were for the most part illiterate; and the fierce struggle for supremacy between Prince Kassai and Gobazye of Amhara so restricted operations that in three years no more than 3000 copies were put into circulation. In 1870 Mr Flad

reached Metemma with thirteen camel-loads of Scriptures and tracts, but the west country was in such a state of confusion that he could do no more than send by the trade caravans some hundreds of volumes for which he had received pressing entreaties from a hundred and eighteen towns and villages. It was not until 1872 that Ras Kassai, under the title of Iohannes II., was crowned at Axum "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, God's Appointed, Negus Nagasti of Ethiopia."

We now obtain the first glimpse of the work in the south. Escaping from Magdala during the advance of the expedition, Menelik of Shoa recovered his father's kingdom, and subdued the country as far south as Kaffa, and west and east from the Blue River to Adal. Chrischona evangelists and Swedish missionaries were labouring among the people of Shoa and the Galla tribes. The first Central Galla portion—St Luke—had been published in 1870, and St John, the Psalms, and Genesis appeared up to 1873. A great desire for the sacred books had been awakened. In December 1873 two of the Pilgrim brotherhood brought up supplies through the wilderness of Adal; the King himself distributed a number of copies among his great men; and the people, roused to enthusiasm, thronged for Galla and Amharic books long after the stock had been exhausted.

"Everywhere," said Menelik joyfully, "my soldiers are sitting in groups, spelling or reading." Even the Roman Catholic bishop at Aman asked for Bibles and Testaments, and declared his respect for men who gave the people in their own tongue the Living Word which his Church denied them. "There are five stations of French priests in the Galla country," wrote Krapf significantly; and the Committee arranged to open a depôt at Massowa in charge of Mr Lundhal of the Swedish society, and to press on with the Galla version. The New Testament was ready in 1876, and Exodus left the press in 1877.

At home, in the meantime, besides other printings, a new three-volume edition of the Amharic Old Testament—revised by Krapf with the help of four Abyssinians in training at St Chrischona—was advancing steadily towards its completion in 1878; and by a happy inspiration a diglot of the Psalms (the binding of which was alone charged to the Society) conciliated ecclesiastical prejudice by showing the venerable Ethiopic text side by side with the disquieting vernacular. The idea was adopted by the Committee; a diglot of the four Gospels and Acts was printed in 1875-76, and the complete Ethiop-Amharic New Testament followed three years later.

When Mr Flad returned to Metemma with these Abyssinian students in 1874, Iohannes welcomed him with a characteristic mixture of warmth and petulance: "Come quickly—as a friend, not as a teacher. I have ordered my governors to have you in their care. The young men who came with you may teach, but I do not want foreign teachers." To his satisfaction, however, a case of diglot Psalters and other Scriptures were presented to him in the name of the Society. On all sides there were tokens of a spiritual change. Morning and evening prayer meetings were attended by large numbers. Priests, scribes, laymen came two or three days' journey to obtain the Word of God. "I have no money," said one poor priest, offering his turban, "but I will go bare-headed rather than lose the chance of having this Psalter." Theological students, clad in cow-hides, brought pieces of salt (the change of Abyssinia) which they had got by singing at the doors of the wealthy. Among the Felashas, who observed so rigorously the Mosaic Law that they still offered yearly the blood of victims, sixty-nine converts had been baptized in the preceding year, and one hundred and twenty were awaiting baptism. "I was astounded at the great things the Lord had wrought."

But the picture was barred with deep shadows. Iohannes,

one conceives, would fain have been true to his better nature; but he had neither the enlightened intellect nor the strong hand of the King of Shoa. Harassed by rebellions, fretted by intriguing chiefs and a jealous priesthood, he was at once a creature of impulse and of expediency. In 1875 a bitter cry of the persecuted reached "the most honoured and loved, the Bible Society in London." "We, the people, priests, and deacons expelled from Hamasen and its capital Tzazega, write to tell you only a little of the sufferings of those who read the Bible." No missionary had set foot in Hamasen when in 1868 one of the cases of Scriptures sent inland in the train of the expedition was diverted, in some unknown way, into that north-west angle of Abyssinia. "Many holy books were thrown, as it were, into our houses. We took them up and read them. With great joy we assembled, read, and searched them; and in course of time we discovered the errors of our Church." For three years the Coptic priests and monks assailed the Bible-readers, excommunicated them, stirred the people up against them. They were delivered to the Governor of Tigré to be stoned to death. He chained them hand and foot, but was bribed to let them go. They found refuge in Egyptian territory, but the hot winds of the low country drove them back to their highlands. Resolved on their destruction, the priests appealed to the King and the Abuna; and a royal missive ordered the heretics to be brought in chains to the capital. Most of them fled in the night to the desert of Genda; those who remained, and in whose possession the Scriptures were found, were despoiled and imprisoned, and in the name of king and archbishop a herald cried through Hamasen: "We bless him who despoiled the Bible-readers; but bring us their hands!"

They built huts in the wilderness. Friends warned them that the chief priest of Hamasen had raised a troop to fall upon them suddenly, and they moved in the winter to the

desert of Ailat. In the heat of that valley each man, woman, and child sickened of fever. More than a hundred died around them; of their own company not one; and God, of His goodness, gave their sickness such a turn that all were not sick at once, but ever there were some well among them to help the stricken. So strange did all this seem in Hamasen that many of the people began to search after the Truth. Thrice had they sent letters of entreaty to the King, but he had made no answer. "This then is our petition. We wish to live in our country, plough our land with our own cattle, serve the King with our bodies, but with our souls we wish to be subject to Christ. On this account we entreat you to implore our King and Bishop to grant us freedom of conscience. If it cannot be done, we are as fish drawn from the water. In every case pray for us. We, the banished and bereft, are one hundred and twenty persons, and three-and-thirty priests and deacons. May God hear us!"

The distress, the turbulence and brigandage incident to a reign marked by injustice and abuse of power were intensified by the Khedive's Expedition and the war with Menelik. The Egyptians were beaten, Menelik was defeated, and by a signal act of barbaric chivalry Iohannes restored and crowned him King of Shoa with his own diadem; but the northern kingdom was ravaged by famine, hydrophobia, cattle plague, and burdened with grinding taxes and quartering of troops. Still, in the midst of misery and turmoil the Word of Life was spread abroad from the western frontier and borne at a heavy cost through the desert into Shoa.[1] Menelik took a deep interest in its distribution among his soldiers, priests, and people, and special copies sent to himself and his chiefs were received with delight.

Once again, in December 1880, Mr Flad, with a long train of camels laden with Scriptures, reached the palm-

[1] From Tajurra to Ankober, a journey of nearly 300 miles, the transport of 1000 volumes by camel-train cost £110.

clusters of Metemma after a desert journey of twenty-eight days from Suakim. Dagusa and Dembea, once fertile and populous, he found wasted and desolate. Hundreds of ragged fugitives from Abyssinia were trying to sustain a wretched existence as hawkers and carriers of wood and straw. The King's troops—now mere robber-bands—had raided their cattle. Traffic with Egypt was forbidden, and one caravan of luckless traders had just been plundered, and dragged in chains to the despot. David, who had been among the first of the Felasha converts,[1] was sent with letters to Iohannes, praying him to allow the nine Felasha teachers to fetch the holy books. Weeks passed, and there was no answer. Burdened with care—"At times it appears to me as though the Lord had forsaken us"—the good missionary decided to found a mission-station at Metemma, so that, when he left, his Abyssinians should not feel themselves wholly forsaken. Gobbau was appointed catechist and schoolmaster, and the store of Scriptures was given to his care, to find their way, little by little, into the country with the merchants.

In April the English papers reported that the King was said to have fallen in battle. It was an unfounded rumour; and late in the autumn, at his home in Kornthal, Mr Flad was cheered with the news that all the books had been conveyed to the Genda mission-station by the order and at the expense of Iohannes himself. Incalculable, passionate being!

> "Afric is all the sun's, and as the earth
> Her human clay is kindled—full of power
> For good *and* evil."

[1] A letter which David got some scribe to write for him to Mrs Flad at this time contains a pretty picture. His wife was "quite a Biblewoman in her way"—had learned to read in one of the mission schools—and on Sundays the women who came "to kiss the church" would gather round her in the churchyard, and listen breathlessly to the story of redemption read to them in their mother-tongue. David was no scholar, but he did not like to be extinguished by his wife's learning and piety, and "now that he had been nearly twenty years baptized and was in his thirty-ninth year, he had made up his mind to sit down with the boys and learn his letters."

The native teachers, too, were abroad, often on long barefoot marches "up hill and down hill, in a pathless, rocky, thorny country, exceeding hot, and full of wild beasts." In many Felasha houses they found Amharic Bibles, Bible stories, tracts—sometimes books received before the captivity in Magdala, sometimes books got a dozen years gone by at Metemma, "from a European named Gieta Flad,"—and these had brought blessing to numbers.

On a November afternoon at Kornthal—it was the 26th of the month; the year, 1881—Mr Flad spent an hour with Krapf, the alert, unwearied spirit to whom Abyssinia and the Bible Society owed so much. They talked of the Second Advent, and the old missionary told of his deep conviction that the coming of the Lord was very near. When Krapf went to his room that night he knelt down by his bedside; there, still praying as it were, he was found lifeless in the morning. They buried him beside his old companion Rebmann. Though his crowded and adventurous life gave an impression of great age, he had not completed his seventy-first year.

When Henry Venn uttered in 1851 the familiar prediction, "If Africa is to be penetrated by European missionaries, it must be from the east coast," Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann of the Church Missionary Society were the only missionaries who had attempted the mysterious continent from its morning side. One gave the first tidings of the inland sea, long afterwards named Victoria Nyanza; the other discovered Kilima-njaro, whose equatorial snows made mirth for incredulous men of science. In time "both sea and mountain heard the songs of Zion." "Bible translation," wrote Bishop Steere, "like geographical discovery, and almost everything else in the recent history of East Africa, owes its beginning to Dr Krapf." Krapf never forgot the Galla maiden Fatme; and towards the end it gave him pleasure to speak of the future when there

would be a Galla bishop — another Crowther; and the Gospel would have reached the Christian remnants of an ancient time which still survived, it was said, in Sidama and Susa, south-west of Kaffa; "and from Kaffa there can be no great distance to the White River and the great lake, Victoria Nyanza."

In the closing years of the period work was going on amid Abyssinian incursions which threatened even the people of Massowa. The Rhenish missionaries in the south were translating the Old Testament into Galla, but had no means of forwarding the manuscript safely to Europe. As the result of a royal proclamation, some 50,000 Mohammedans had become Coptic Christians rather than quit the country, and Iohannes had built churches on the sites of their old mosques. Then, too, among the Kamants, a pagan tribe in the mountains north of Gondar, there were churches and priests. For all these churches Mr Flad besought Amharic Bibles, and the Committee readily assented.

Between 1854 and 1884 the Society issued over 38,000 volumes in Amharic, some 4000 in Ethiop-Amharic, 1000 in Tigrin, and 7077 in Galla. In addition there were 300 copies of St Mark, translated by Professor Reinisch of Vienna University into the language of the Bogos in the region just north of Abyssinia—a savage, illiterate people, part Coptic, part Mohammedan and Romanist, among whom the Swedish Mission had begun work. In all 50,599 copies of Scripture. Of the Society's expenditure one can trace £2536 from 1863, and much of this amount was spent in payment of conveyance and in aid of colportage.

Nineteen years had gone by since Krapf laid his wife and babe in their "lonely missionary grave" at Mombasa,[1]

[1] "Tell our friends at home," he wrote to the Church Missionary Society Committee, "that there is now on the East African coast a lonely missionary grave. This is a sign that you have commenced the struggle with this part of the world; and as the victories of the Church are gained by stepping over the graves of her members, you may be the more convinced that the hour is at hand when you are summoned to the conversion of Africa from its eastern shore."

seventeen since he cut a large cross on a tree in Usumbara as a sign that he had taken possession for Christ, when the Universities Mission, after its sufferings and reverses on the mainland, was transferred in 1863 to Zanzibar. The Scriptures were at once circulated among the Arabs in their own tongue, but it was not long before the missionaries felt the need of a version in the language of the native population. As early as 1844 Krapf began a translation of Genesis, but the pundits of Mombasa had induced him to accept as pure Swahili a dialect so highly refined as to be all but unintelligible to the mass of the people. An independent start was now made. The Rev. Edward Steere, who went out with Bishop Tozer on his appointment, applied himself to the mastery of the language, and after five years of patient toil, returned to England in 1868 with the Gospel of St Matthew and the Psalms. The Committee readily accepted these beginnings in what was not merely the "speech of the coast," as its name indicated, but what proved to be the *lingua franca* of Central Africa and one of the twelve widespread languages of the world. The Gospel (500 copies) was issued in 1870, and the Psalter, which received the benefit of Mr (afterwards Canon) Girdlestone's scholarship in passing through the press, appeared in 1871.

On the failure of Bishop Tozer's health in 1872, Mr Steere went back to Zanzibar, and two years later, when he succeeded him as Bishop, the Gospel of St John was ready for the printers. It was scarcely three months after his consecration that the C.M.S. Mombasa Mission reached its destination (November 1874). A few miles inland, on the hills beyond the bush, lay Rabai or Kisulutini, Krapf's former station ; and there, in a wretched hut, blind, with a dozen Wanyika Christians about him, they found "Old Rebmann." For nine-and-twenty years he had kept an unbroken vigil for them on this solitary Gospel frontier.

They prevailed on him to return to the Fatherland, and a home was found for him at Kornthal, near his colleague Krapf. The Committee undertook the publication of his Swahili translation of St Luke, which had long been painfully elaborated, and which he would allow no one but his Wanyikas to see until he considered it as perfect as he could make it. The little book appeared in 1877, but it never reached his hand. He died suddenly in 1876, on the 4th October, the day on which the first sheet of his Kinyassa Dictionary issued from the press. He was only fifty-six—"Old Rebmann."

At Zanzibar, Steere was the ideal of the workman bishop. In the old Slave Market, once horrible with its pictures of callous cruelty and brutal degradation, he laid the foundations of Christ Church Cathedral—worked out plans, corded scaffold-poles, mixed mortar, and helped to build it. From time to time a cruiser brought in some Arab dhow packed with wretched slaves; among them perhaps an old woman who had lost her wits with trouble, a blind boy, the cheeriest of little ebonies, a six-months child whose mother had died in the stifling hold. A mission-colony of rescued slaves was founded at Magila in 1875, and a half-way station was formed at Masasi a year later. There were schools for the children, who were instructed, baptized, and brought up to useful trades. All the while he was busy with his translations into a language which, "roughly speaking, had no prepositions at all"; and before long the different books, issued tentatively in the island, before being sent to the Bible House for publication, were printed at the Mission press by his old scholars, the negro lads who had been snatched from the slave-traders. His own house became a Bible depôt from which supplies were drawn for all parts of the Central African mission-field.

He was profoundly impressed with the paramount

importance of giving the people the Word of God in their own tongue. "I feel here," he wrote, when he accepted the post of Vice-President of the Society in 1880, "that our work must be all unsound without a vernacular Bible; and the Bible Society has made this possible to us."

By the beginning of 1880 the whole of the New Testament in Swahili had been published in separate portions, and Genesis was translated. Rebmann's Luke, revised and harmonised with the rest in spelling, was issued by the Committee; and the Bishop, feeling that the devoted toil of the blind pioneer ought not to pass unrecognised, included it in his own version.

In 1881 Exodus was printed at Zanzibar, after repeated delays—"for want of paper," he explains; even now, "you will see, we have had to use four different sorts": a matter which the Committee promptly made straight by a grant of a hundred reams. Isaiah was in hand—a fairly accurate rendering, he hoped, notwithstanding the use of Arabic names for stones, and the like, which have no equivalents in the pure African tongues. Progress perhaps has been regrettably slow, but the mission-work expands so fast[1] that, "if I did not consider a vernacular Bible essential to sound mission-work, I should often be tempted to lay it aside for a much longer time."

In the early summer of 1882 the Bishop was in England. "Like a beam of sunlight" he entered the Bible House, ever one of the places he first visited, and one of the last in which he lingered before his departure. He brought with him the fruit of nearly twenty years of laborious scholarship, the corrected and revised text of the New Testament, and with it a translation of the Books of Kings. Amid his many engagements he found time for an article on "The Bible in East Africa," which appeared in the Society's *Monthly*

[1] At this date the Bishop had thirty-one European missionaries, ordained and lay, seven of them ladies.

Reporter for July. He returned to Zanzibar, as though to realise his conception of the lifelong office of a Missionary Bishop: "England may be the easiest place in which to live, but Africa is just as good a place to die in, and his death at his post may do much more than his life." On the 27th August he was found dying, unconscious, with an unfinished letter and the corrected proofs of his Isaiah on the table. All ranks and classes, from the representative of the Seyyid downward, attended his funeral, and English sailors carried him to his grave "behind the high altar at the foot of the episcopal throne" in his cathedral; that was at the foot of the whipping post of the old Slave Market.[1]

A thousand copies of the Books of Kings were issued in the course of the year; and in 1883 the first edition of the complete Swahili New Testament (5050 copies) left the press; consignments were shipped to Zanzibar for the use of the various missions; and the Committee undertook the publication of the Book of Joshua, translated by Archdeacon Hodgson, with the help of a Zanzibari (once a slave, at that time a student at St Augustine's, Canterbury), and revised by the Rev. H. Geldart and Miss Thackeray. In the island itself the late Bishop's Genesis was printed in a tentative edition by his dusky scholars.

From 1870, when Swahili took its place in the Society's list of Bible languages, the Committee had produced 15,232 copies of Scripture in that wide-ranging tongue. At their first sitting in 1884 they had the pleasure of meeting his successor, Bishop Smythies, and wishing him God-speed in a new period of co-operation and expansion.

In his article for the *Monthly Reporter* Bishop Steere cast his glance over the regions of "the Dark Continent," in

[1] Among the memorials at the Bible House is a pleasing photograph of Bishop Steere, presented by Miss Thackeray of the Universities Mission. Besides his earlier books on English Brotherhoods and Persecutions of the Church, Steere wrote handbooks of Nyamwezi, Shambala, and Swahili, and a volume of *Swahili Tales* with a translation, before he became Bishop.

which so many lights were being kindled. The Universities had missions to the north of Zanzibar, had occupied the country between the sea and Nyassa, and had there joined hands with the Scottish Missions on the Lake. Not far from Rabai the United Free Methodists were stationed among the Wanyika. The Church Missionary Society had "enormously extended its work." The London Mission had pushed through Unyamwezi to the shores of Tanganyika, where tracks had been blazed for it by its Livingstone. By all these, and even by the Romanist societies in their measure, the Swahili version was used. "Already it was having children of its own"—had served the natives as a medium for assisting in translations into their local tongues.

In 1879, after three years' work at Masasi with Steere, the Rev. Chauncy Maples (afterwards Archdeacon and Bishop) returned to England with the Gospel of St Matthew in Yao, the language spoken at Livingstonia and Blantyre and in the country stretching east and south of Nyassa; and in 1880, 500 copies were printed. From the station of the United Methodist Free Church at Ribe, not many miles from the wretched hut in which we found Rebmann, the Committee received in 1881 the same Gospel in the tongue of the Wanyika, prepared by the Rev. Thomas Wakefield and an Arab assistant. An edition of 1000 copies was printed under the eye of the translator, and Kinyika was added to the Society's roll of languages.[1]

[1] In Nyika, too, Krapf was a pioneer. Bishop Steere refers in his article to his Gospel of St Luke (1848), and tells of the famous medicine-man, or sorcerer, who was one of the few converts. The man afterwards fell into grievous sin and disappeared, but when a number of years had gone by, people from the interior of the Nyika country went down to "Mombas" for a teacher. They had learned to read the Gospel in their own tongue, they said; had become believers, and desired more instruction. The old sorcerer had taken his Gospel with him when he fled, and had taught his countrymen to read it. A further sequel, it appears, was the building of a small church among the beehive grass huts of a Nyika village; persecution at the hands of the medicine-men and the neighbouring chiefs; migration and settlement on a river-island to the northward; and lastly, the dispersion of the little Christian colony by Mohammedan slave-raiders and the cruel death of its headman. Here may be added a reference to certain African prefixes. U-nyika is the country; Wa-nyika, the people; M-nyika, the man; Ki-nyika (adjective): similarly Bu-ganda, the country; Ba-ganda, the people; Mu-ganda, the man; Lu-ganda (adjective). The familiar U-ganda and Wa-ganda are coast forms.

It was from these Swahili translations, wrote Bishop Steere—"from these translations, in the hands of an old scholar of ours, that Stanley was able to give the King of Uganda some idea of our faith." The traveller showed Mtesa a copy of the Bible, the Divine Book which had made the British a great and powerful nation ; and long afterwards at a meeting of one of the English Auxiliaries, Stanley told how, when turning away from Uganda to continue his explorations across "the Dark Continent," a messenger who had travelled 200 miles came to him crying out that Mtesa wanted the Book. That copy had been a gift from the sister of David Livingstone, but it was given to him.

This was the origin of the Uganda Mission ; and in 1876, when the first eight missionaries of the Church Missionary Society turned their faces to the long road to the Victoria Nyanza, they carried with them the Swahili Scriptures. Mtesa came down from his throne to welcome them. When Stanley's boy—the "old scholar"—translated their society's letter into Swahili and came to a reference to our Lord, Mtesa ordered a salute to be fired, for joy at hearing the name of Jesus. Like Theodore in Abyssinia, his first thought was of guns and gunpowder, but in private he had one question to ask—Had they brought the Book? From them guns and gunpowder were not to be had ; perhaps, after all, the Book might contain a stronger magic than even fire-arms. Mtesa wavered between Christ and Mohammed to the end, and died an unbeliever ; but in spite of royal caprice, heathen opposition, the hostility of Arab traders, and the "industrial" rivalry of the Romanists, the mission held its ground. In 1880 the brilliant young Scotch engineer, Alexander Mackay—"Mackay of Uganda"—had translated the Ten Commandments and some of the Psalms into Luganda, and was busy on the Gospel of St Matthew. "I had little idea," he wrote, "how many difficulties would meet me at every step." For sacred things there were but few

words which were not steeped in idolatrous superstition; and to a people who lived on plantains, who neither sowed nor reaped, how many Scripture allusions must be unintelligible? In 1883 another gifted member, the Rev. Philip O'Flaherty, had overcome many of these difficulties — had "collected 15,000 words, besides fables and proverbs which illustrate the life of the people, and translated the first three Gospels." In the same year, at Butonga in Uguha on the western marge of Tanganyika, the Rev. W. Griffith of the London Missionary Society had received technical works from the Society to assist him in translation, but in the language of the Baguha, with its ten classes of nouns, he had not yet discovered a word for "God," or a term to express the idea of "Spirit." Dr Southon had prepared a primer in Nyamwezi; and the Rev. J. A. Wray (Church Missionary Society) was acquiring Sagalla among the war-like hill tribe at Taita — Taita, the first link in that chain of stations which, long ago, Krapf had planned to cross Africa from east to west.

So the period closed. In the year of the Jubilee, as Canon Edmonds has finely observed, Central Africa was scarcely better known to us than it was to the Apostles. The "elephants" and "savage pictures" of the old cartographers had disappeared from the maps, but it was not until July 1858 that Speke discovered the Victoria Nyanza, "the great source of that holy river which cradled the first expounder of our religious belief."[1] Then as traveller and explorer broke through the jungles of the interior, "one heard the sound of the Master's feet behind them"—heard even the accents of His voice. In a manner beyond even the dreams of Krapf and Christian Spittler, the Apostles' Way was ranging onward under the divine blessing.

[1] Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 467.

CHAPTER XVIII

ULTRAMONTANE BELGIUM

So far we have followed the movement of national events and the spontaneous outgrowth of the Society's work. We now turn to developments in Northern Europe.

For ten years Mr John Kirkpatrick conducted the Society's affairs in Belgium. It was the most arduous and discouraging period in the history of the agency. Ultramontanism was in its most aggressive mood. A Clerical Government took office in 1855, but the attempt of the clergy to overturn the educational system of the country excited popular hostility, and their efforts to recover the administration of public charities raised a revolutionary storm which swept the Ministry from power. The work of the Society was assailed with unscrupulous bitterness. The Bishop of Bruges published another hostile volume, in which he accused "self-styled and most liberally paid ministers of the Gospel" of "scattering money with an open hand among poor Catholics, for the purpose of obtaining their more or less doubtful adhesion to their improvised churches";[1] the eloquent Abbé Combalot was summoned from Paris to lead a crusade against the dissemination of the Word of God; pulpits rang with the denunciation of the Bible; the excited mob broke into violence which had to be suppressed by the police and the military; colporteurs

[1] "We are assured," wrote this credulous prelate, "that in connection with this traffic of consciences, there are prices-current, well-known tariffs. The apostasy of a family, according to the number of persons composing it, is valued by these Protestant ministers at from 500 to 1500 francs, ready money down. Has one, I ask, ever before heard of such a sacrilegious traffic?"

were derided with beating of kettles, insulted, pelted with dirt; their books were torn up and burned—burned at the end of a pole by a yelling crowd in the market-place, solemnly burned by the priest in the church. The people were threatened with the usual penalties—suspension from the sacraments and the exclusion of their children from the First Communion; and those who ventured to conform to their ideal of the Gospel were shunned, persecuted, deprived of the means of support, compelled to seek for a livelihood elsewhere. These were no new experiences; they could be met with patience and prayer; but the sinister result of the fanaticism of the priesthood and their aggressions on civil liberty was the strong anti-Papal feeling which was driving so many of the better educated to Deism, Pantheism, and blank irreligion.

How seriously the work was beset with difficulties may be gathered from the fact that in the five years from 1854 to the beginning of 1859 the average annual circulation among a population considerably exceeding four and a half millions was something less than 8000 copies, while in the next five years it did not reach 7000. No more than three colporteurs were employed by the Brussels Agency —intrepid, God-fearing men, who seemed to multiply themselves as they travelled through the provinces of Brabant, Limburg, Liège, Namur, Luxemburg; who frequented, in spite of rebuffs, the military camp at Beverloo; penetrated the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg; visited the gay parades of Ostend in the bathing season. But, to the praise of the native organisations, which had sprung from the Society's early efforts, the chief part in the distribution of the Scriptures during this trying time was borne by the Société Evangélique Belge, with its depôts and from four to eight or nine colporteurs, and the Société Synodale d'Evangélisation, which also sent out a Bibleman. These were busy for the most part in the mining and manufacturing

districts, while the Christian Union of Young Men's Associations took charge of the shipping at Antwerp, the pastors of the small Evangelical churches zealously co-operated, and the ministers of the few foreign Protestant congregations, and English residents and visitors gave such help as they were able.

With the divine blessing, a remarkable impression was effected by these restricted means. Even in the agricultural provinces of the north, where the old Flemish tongue fell on the ear, and fields and farmsteads formed one continuous village packed with a bigoted population more densely than any other country in Europe,[1] the opposition to the colporteurs, it was noted in 1860, appeared to be gradually declining; they were "allowed to sit down"—one indeed had on his list over sixty families on whom he could call at any time to read and pray, "though these families would not yet be willing to receive a Protestant pastor." Missionary stations had been opened at Courtrai and Alost, congregations formed at Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and Louvain; in Bruges itself, where every door used to be shut, the messenger of the Gospel found much to encourage him. In truth it seemed as though the day were breaking in Flanders as it had broken in the Walloon provinces. A still more significant fact, perhaps, was the appearance of two new translations of the New Testament, authorised by the Church of Rome and safeguarded by the usual annotations. One was a French version by the Abbé Glaire; the other a Flemish, by the learned Professor Beelen of the University of Louvain; but, unhappily, even these editions aroused but little interest among the masses of the population. Meanwhile some of the Society's most beautiful issues of the French Scriptures were printed at Brussels, and an Ostervald Bible had been published for the first time in 1861 with marginal references.

[1] The population of the whole of Belgium was 409 to the square mile in 1860 and increased to 480 in 1880.

In 1864 the Society lost a tried and gifted agent in John Kirkpatrick. A severe cold which he caught in the discharge of his duties settled upon his lungs, and within a few weeks he passed away at the early age of forty-one. His younger brother, William Henry, readily consented to fill the vacancy until suitable arrangements could be made. The principles and methods of the Society were familiar to him. As a lad of seventeen he had taken service under Mr Tiddy in 1842, and ten years later, on his leaving for other occupation in Paris, John had replaced him. In 1865 he accepted the permanent position as agent in Brussels, and lived to be the *doyen* of the Society's representatives abroad. For half a century the brothers were connected with Bible-work in Belgium. They were cadets of the famous old Scottish house, the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn,[1] one of whom, William, was the grandfather of the Empress Eugénie. By a strange interweaving of events the brothers were at once cousins of the Empress, of the Duke of Alva, and of Ferdinand de Lesseps ; and the marriage of William Henry to a Van Baerle, whose mother had danced at the memorable Waterloo ball, closely related him with the family of the hero of Dumas' *Black Tulip*.

Long absence quickened the new agent's perception of the disastrous inroads of scepticism among the Belgian people. He found the country broadly divided into two sections —the masses of Roman Catholics, taught to regard the Protestant Bible as a pernicious book by a priesthood who had recourse to every species of misrepresentation to enforce their own authority, and the ever-increasing class of so-called Liberals, who claimed liberty of conscience rather as the right of unbelief than as the free exercise of religious conviction, who held up the Scriptures to mockery and scorn, and

[1] Closeburn Hall, Dumfriesshire, about midway between Thornhill and the picturesque Auldgirth Bridge, which Carlyle's father helped to build. One of the Kirkpatricks was an associate of Bruce in the slaughter of the Red Comyn. Crichope Linn, a wild scene of rocks, thickets, and waterfalls on the estate, gave refuge to the Covenanters in the days of persecution.

Franz Delitzsch

whose ultimate doctrine was the negation of all revealed truth. Many of the Roman Catholic clergy undoubtedly exerted themselves to arrest the advances of infidelity and to improve the social condition of the people, but the decadence of priestly influence was too obvious to be denied; and as time went on the attention drawn to the growing wealth of conventual establishments, the exposure in the law-courts of unscrupulous methods used to acquire property for the Church, and the attempts at fraudulent miracles widened the breach between the nation and the Papacy.

The Scriptures contained the only effectual remedy for this distracted condition of society, and, standing aloof from all controversies, Mr Kirkpatrick applied his energies to the task of a more fruitful distribution. Like every lover of the Bible, he knew that men had been led to Christ by a single Gospel, by a solitary text, and in 1864 he decided that large supplies of the Book of Psalms and the four Evangelists should be issued for circulation. The results fully justified the experiment. Since 1855 the number of Portions sold had not amounted to 1000; in the next ten years no fewer than 75,800 copies were scattered over Belgium. Among the ignorant and superstitious, it is true, the little books, especially the Gospel of St John, were too often bought merely as talismans and charms. St Mark was an amulet against king's-evil, but St John, which might be used in divination for the discovery of lost and stolen property, for omens as to absent friends, was a specific in sickness and a protection in thunderstorms. On this account, indeed, English friends demurred to the separate publication of St John's Gospel; but Mr Kirkpatrick's answer was the application of the words of St Paul: "Whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." The colporteur, too, was quick to see his chance with these credulous people. "There are only three keys which this Gospel will turn," he said at Charleroi, when

a man asked to be taught divination by key-turning. "Only three! The Curé of Crompfistu can make any key turn." The first key, the Bibleman explained, is that which unlocks a heart of stone; the second admits to the arms which we need to war against sin; the third, at death, opens the Kingdom of Heaven. "He listened attentively to all I had to say, and at last bought a Bible." And time gave proof that these small Portions led to the reading of many a Testament and the purchase of many a complete copy of the Scriptures.

Ample grants of Bibles and Testaments were voted to meet the needs of schools and chapels; the discount to the Evangelical Society was increased from 35 per cent. to 50 per cent.; the agency was authorised to enlarge its colportage, and a staff of six men was speedily in the field, distributing an average of nearly 7000 copies a year. Unhappily, in 1864 the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was closed against the Society. For five years that region of almost mediæval Romanism had been regularly visited, and some knowledge of the Scriptures had been spread in spite of the opposition of the clergy and the press; but, although the King of Holland was Grand Duke, the Duchy had its independent Ministry and Legislature; the Ultramontanes were in power; the colporteur's licence was revoked, and, with the exception of a small almanac, the hawking of every kind of book, pamphlet, or newspaper was prohibited.

But the true measure of the progress of the Bible cause in these years was furnished by the quiet expansion of a flourishing Protestant communion, very many of whose members had abjured Popery and testified by their lives that an inward change had made them new creatures in the Lord Jesus. In August 1865, and again in May 1867, Mr Tiddy visited Belgium. Thirty years before, when he was appointed to the Brussels Agency, all that survived of

the once prosperous churches of the Reformation was the small congregations at Maria Hoorebecke in Flanders, Dour near Mons, and Rongy in the marsh region south of Tournai—descendants of the few families who clung to their faith through the fire of persecution. These little groups, in all about eight hundred souls, represented the native Protestantism in the country.[1] In 1865 he met in conference the delegates of twenty churches and mission-stations, nineteen of which traced their existence to the seed sown by the Society, and addressed a gathering which included eighteen ministers of the Gospel, four evangelists, and ten colporteurs, besides nine or ten school-masters and schoolmistresses. There were sixteen schools in which the Bible was taught daily, and no fewer than 112,000 tracts and books were circulated yearly by the Evangelical Society, which had already expended over £70,000 for the spiritual good of the country. Two years later, when he attended the annual observances, he was taken to villages where in his day there were no congregations and the Word of God was even unknown; spoke at meetings packed with grimy miners straight from the pits or with villagers who had come from miles round through the wet; was welcomed by nearly four hundred people at Pâturages, one of his first fields of labour; preached at Dour, where the good old Pastor de Visme had just died after fifty years' ministry,[2] and found at Wasmes, hard by,

[1] There were four churches of *foreign* Protestants; these were in the large towns. Maria Hoorebecke was originally one of seven communities, of which Oudenarde was the centre—"the Churches of the Olive," composed of Waldensian refugees who, in the days of trouble, hid themselves in the wood which still goes by the name of Guensenwald (Gensa's Wood), and there met for worship under cover of darkness. There had been a regular succession of pastors from the sixteenth century, and after the accession of Leopold I. (1831), the church was recognised by the Government, and an annual stipend of 1200 francs granted to the incumbent. A similar recognition was extended to the churches at Dour and Rongy; and the three constituted the National Reformed Church. In 1872 Colporteur Van Helden, who was stationed at Maria Hoorebecke, was shown by an old woman of eighty a Bible printed in 1553, and her grandfather's New Testament, which he used to hide in the poultry-yard, stained, damaged, and with lost pages supplied in her own hand-writing. Hers was the fourth generation, she told him, which read the Bible daily.

[2] As late as 1750 Gilles Laurent, in whose house the few remaining Protestants

that the chapel, the opening of which he had attended in 1851, was too small for its regular congregation.

These annual meetings, at which the claims of the Society were advocated, were frequently attended by the Rector of Witchampton, the Rev. C. Bailhache, another member of Committee, and, at a later date, by one or other of the District-secretaries. They led to church excursions among the hills and fields, and open-air preachings, which sometimes drew together the whole village as friendly and attentive listeners; and thus a knowledge of the Bible was spread, and a better feeling awakened towards those by whom it was distributed. The character and conduct of these exemplary men went far to dissipate prejudice, and we hear of one of them, Gazan, who a year or two before had been refused home-room in Louvain, filling his windows with pots of flowers given him during his journeys by those who had learned to esteem and regard him.

In 1869 the proceedings of the Vatican Council caused a great sensation in Belgium. "One would say that Catholicism had received new life." Colportage became more difficult, though actual sales showed no decrease. "Infallibility" was on every tongue, but observers who looked for a revival of religious fervour saw but a rekindling of party spirit; and indeed in 1870 the Clericals were again returned to power. Within a few weeks, however, everything was forgotten in the panic and danger of the Franco-Prussian war. As the troops were hurried forward to guard the frontier, the colporteurs took the field. When thousands of French flung themselves across the neutral border and

gathered for worship, was denounced by the priests, thrown into prison, dragged at a horse's tail, and banished. He died of exhaustion on the road, not far from Dour. These Protestants had but one Bible, which escaped the inquisitors of "bad books" by being hidden in a hole in the wall and covered by the picture of a saint. In 1786 the surviving "heretics" requested a French pastor, J. de Visme, to visit them. Twice he was thrown into prison, and ran great risk of his life. In 1817 his son became their pastor, and shortly afterwards held regular services at Pâturages, Mons, and La Bouverie. He was among the warmest and most zealous friends of the Society, and had formed, indeed, a Bible Association at Dour before Mr Tiddy's appointment.

some hundreds of German prisoners and wounded arrived from Sedan, the work of distribution was aided by several pastors and a number of ladies who visited the ambulances. With few exceptions the work met with no obstruction, and the Biblemen were allowed to hold services for the Protestants among the sick, wounded, and prisoners. The sales of the year amounted to 21,750 copies, of which some 9000 were required for war purposes by the National Society of Scotland.[1] Between 8000 and 9000 more were distributed gratis by Mr Kirkpatrick's men. It was but a fraction of the vast aggregate dispersed among the contending forces, and indeed but a small portion of the agency's own efforts. Over 120,000 copies were despatched in various directions from the Brussels depôt, making the unprecedented total of 152,000 volumes of Scripture disseminated in one year from a single centre. In addition to these heavy labours, Mr Kirkpatrick hastened to France to retrieve the affairs of the Society. M. de Pressensé had died at the height of the disastrous confusion. Travelling was perilous—in fact he was once arrested as a spy, though happily his papers secured his speedy release at headquarters—but an essential piece of service was deftly accomplished. Singular interplay of the designs of Providence, which brought within the same narrow compass of time and place two descendants of the ancient house of Closeburn, one as an imperial fugitive, the other as an agent of the Bible Society!

From the year of the war the circulation showed a distinct though fluctuating tendency to expansion. In 1874 a successful application was made for entrance to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, where Dr Neumärker was the solitary Protestant pastor; a depôt was opened, and an experienced man was detailed to the district, but two years had scarcely passed before the privilege was again withdrawn, and all

[1] The Scottish Society entered into alliance with the Belgian Evangelical, which was thus enabled to give effective development to its system of evangelist-colporteurs.

subsequent attempts to remove the prohibition were thwarted. Otherwise colportage fell upon better times, though one of the best men went through eighty-six towns and villages and in fifty-eight could sell no more than from two to ten copies, and here and there much mischief was done by good but thoughtless persons who went so far in their gratuitous distributions as to throw handfuls of Scriptures in at railway carriage windows.

In 1877 the agency began operations among the emigrants and sea-faring population of Antwerp. Excellent service had been rendered by the Union of Young Men and the Norwegian and Danish Seamen's Societies, but the opening of the Scheldt to the commerce of the world in 1863 had converted the insalubrious port of 73,000 inhabitants into a stately and healthy metropolis of considerably over 200,000.

In 1879 Belgium was split into two great camps whose rival war-cries were Religion and Liberty—"religion without the Gospel, liberty without a God." The Liberals, once more settled in power, determined to make an end of the prerogative of school inspection, choice of school-books, appointment of teachers, right of veto on Government and commune grants—in a word, the supreme control of education so long held by the Church of Rome. The priests were at once in arms against a measure designed "to tear from our faithful and laborious population the consolations and hopes of religion." The Bill was passed; the clergy retaliated by refusing the sacraments to all connected with the State schools; the Liberals demanded the stoppage or reduction of their stipends; excommunication emptied the churches and dismayed no one; and the conflict was at its height when the period closed.[1] The movement bore directly on the Society's work, but, as a party, the Secularists were as

[1] A large proportion of the population was still illiterate. Out of 8917 recruits who joined the army in 1882, 2437 (over 25 per cent.) could not write; and of 6480 who could, 2433 failed to answer the question: "Did Moses live before or after Jesus Christ?" And what a question to ask!

antagonistic to the Bible cause as the Romanists themselves. The God of the Bible was blasphemed as "the source of all our misery and the cause of all our despair." Free-thought corrupted the living, and buried the dead without a hope or a prayer.

The one cheering aspect of the time was the spread of evangelical truth, seen in the formation of new churches, in the secession from Rome of a whole congregation,[1] in the evidence that many who made no outward change read and believed the Scriptures, in the founding of a training college for Flemish evangelists alone by Pastor de Jonge (in 1879), and the introduction of an admirable system of missionary schools by Pastor Léonard Anet (in 1880). "It was even suggested by men of eminence that it would greatly tend to the advantage of Belgium to embrace Protestantism and throw off all connection with Rome"; and once or twice Bibles and Testaments were bought—and sold to the people too — by old *curés*, and the colporteur was asked to call at the priest's house, "for I never before heard these things spoken of in this way."

Eighteen-eighty was the jubilee year of Belgian Independence — that fortunate issue of a haphazard revolt, the train of which was fired by a spirit-stirring performance of Auber's *Masaniello*. A place was denied the Society's versions at the Brussels National Exhibition; sales in the grounds were forbidden; outside the gates little interest was taken in the books offered by the colporteur; but 65,000 Portions, and in the following year 35,850 more, supplied at a nominal price, were gratuitously distributed through the post from the Crystal Palace Bible-stand. As a memorial of the national celebration 1450 New Testaments, inscribed with the text, "The truth shall make you free," were presented to the Sunday-school children of the Protestant churches.

[1] At Sart-Dame-Avelines.

At the close of the period we leave the agency making steady progress in its undertakings, and Mr Kirkpatrick in command of men whose demeanour had turned many enemies into friends. Old artillery-sergeant Stynders had served twenty-seven years; Deboulle and Gazan, nineteen (Deboulle, whose Roman Catholic neighbours had shown him much kindness in sickness; Gazan, no longer "a disguised Jew," but a welcome guest at many tables); Hardy, seventeen; Delplace (a tall man with long beard and white hair, whom school children had once been taught to revile as "the wicked sorcerer"), seventeen; Van Helden, who had fifteen to twenty people at family worship on a Sunday morning, eleven. The latest additions to the staff were Napp (six years), and John Ham the Englishman, who had spent three years about the ships and docks and seamen's lodgings at Antwerp.

In addition to the labours of management Mr Kirkpatrick began in 1868 the revision of the Ostervald Bible. The result was submitted to the judgment of the Bible Society of France, and adopted by the London Committee. Martin's translation was similarly revised. In collaboration with Dr William Wright, he prepared for the press an edition of De Sacy with alternative readings in 1878, and in 1882 collated the Brussels editions with the folio of 1759. In Belgium as in other Roman Catholic countries experience had placed it beyond controversy that Vulgate versions were in certain conditions both indispensable and efficacious. Though French was the official tongue, Flemish had always been that of the common people, and some three millions spoke nothing else. The genius of Hendrik Conscience gave an impetus to the revival of the speech of the soil; in 1873 it was prescribed in the Flemish law-courts, in 1883 taught in the schools, and finally recognised as on an equal footing with French. In 1877 an orthographic revision, with alternative readings, of the Louvain Flemish New

Testament (a Vulgate version by De Witte, 1717) was published by Mr Matthyssen of Antwerp; and with his assistance Pastor de Jonge of the Flemish National Church began a fresh translation direct from the Greek. The Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, St John, St Mark and the Acts appeared before the period ended, and with these matters Mr Kirkpatrick was also closely connected.

During the thirty years 513,479 copies of Scripture were distributed,[1] and over two-thirds of these in the last fifteen. The proportion of Flemish to French issues does not appear, but during the interval the Society's circulation of Flemish editions in all quarters was 172,725 copies. The expenditure for the period was £93,176; and, apart from a legacy of £400, small annual collections, and occasional donations, the receipts amounted to £16,111.[2]

Altogether, from the establishment of the agency, 716,344 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions had been dispersed over Belgium. A considerable achievement, but it represented no more than a beginning in the vast work of distribution. Those who professed Protestantism were still a very small minority; numbering less than one in three hundred, or fifteen thousand in a population of five and a half millions; ten thousand fewer than the monks and nuns alone, for although the Church of Rome, which owned nearly three-fourths of the landed estates in the eighteenth century, held now less than one per cent., the religious Orders had increased, since 1829, from 280 houses with 4790 members, to 1559 houses with 25,360.[3] Such was the condition of things when the Belgian Agency entered on its jubilee year.

[1] Exclusive of nearly three-quarters of a million despatched to other agencies.

[2] These figures include £22,795 expenditure and £7078 receipts for the years 1854 and 1855, when Belgium, Holland, and Cologne were grouped in one account. From 1856 to 1884 the expenditure for Belgium alone was £70,381, and the receipts £9033, or 12·8 per cent.

[3] Smythe, *The Story of Belgium*, p. 324.

CHAPTER XIX

HOLLAND

In the Jubilee Year, as we have seen, Mr Tiddy was succeeded in the Netherlands by his assistant, Lambertus Van der Bom, though it was not until 1866 that the latter was formally appointed an independent agent. Besides the headquarters at Amsterdam, there was a sub-depôt at Rotterdam; and five colporteurs carried the Word of God through nine provinces of that curious stork-and-tulip country, in which old emblazoned towns fallen into decay, picture-villages, and gaily-coloured inland shipping gave a singular interest to the leagues of level pastures, bosky polder-farms, grassy dykes, windmills and netted water-ways. In name Holland was Protestant, and, remembering its blood-stained annals, no country in Christendom had better cause to be so in reality; but there was a large Roman Catholic population, which was steadily increasing through intermarriage and the energetic action of its priesthood, while on many of the clergy of the Reformed Churches had fallen the blight of rationalism and an apathetic unbelief, and the infection had spread to their people. In North Brabant, Guelderland, Utrecht, the Bible was regarded with widespread indifference; in the poor and marshy districts of Groningen and Friesland few even attended public worship — "they had no confidence in their ministers, who indeed troubled themselves but very seldom about them." For three years, during which the figures scarcely varied, the average circulation of

the Scriptures in a population of something over 3,000,000, was 20,600 copies.

Suddenly, in the fourth year—1857-58—the circulation rose to 23,000 odd. The Government had excluded the Bible from the public elementary schools, but by the blessing of God parents had awakened to the spiritual needs of their children, and that triumph of irreligion was made the starting-point of a revival which developed, without heat or excitement or intermission, for thirty years. A movement was begun for the founding of schools in which the Word of Life should be recognised as the basis of education. Ever ready to co-operate, the Committee granted 2500 volumes to ten schools in 1858, nearly 3000 to thirty in 1860, and so on, year after year, as their help was required. The number of schools quickly increased; every six or eight years a new generation passed through them in hundreds, in thousands, in tens of thousands,—grew up, and in course of time, as we shall see, leavened the nation with a renewed faith. With equal liberality assistance was given to the various evangelical missions and agencies engaged in the propagation of Gospel truth, and it was pleasant to note the effect of the Society's gifts in the growth of Sunday schools and evening meetings for the reading of the Scriptures and in the spontaneous donations which came from friends in token of their grateful appreciation.

By a happy coincidence a large-type Dutch reference Bible was issued in 1857, and 1600 copies were sold in a few months. It was five-and-twenty years since the Netherlands Bible Society had published any Bible with references, and the rare copies of former editions, printed in old German type, were to be had only at high prices.

In May 1860 an attempt at colportage was made in Limburg, an unexplored province as notorious for its infidelity as for its fanaticism. The poor Bibleman met with brutal treatment. The priests preached against him, and

threatened to withhold absolution from all who bought his books. Copies were snatched out of his hands and torn to shreds; he was assailed with dirt and stones, and struck insensible to the ground amid furious cries of "Trample him to death!" But insults, threats, violence, refusal of food and lodging had little effect on the courageous Van Veen. By 1863, when as a measure of protection a colleague was sent to travel with him, he had sold 2077 copies; by 1867, when he died—his life, it would seem, shortened by ill-usage—he had circulated 7225 volumes in seven years. After his death those who had most bitterly opposed him testified to the worth of his character and the devotedness of his service, but their praise of his virtues did not insure a less hostile reception for his successor. Faith and constancy, however, produced a striking change in the intolerance of Maestricht; at Valkenburg and Zwalme, Weert, and Meersen many were brought to a true knowledge of the Saviour; and much seed was scattered before the colporteur was withdrawn, in 1870, to the more promising district of Breda.

A grant of £50 was voted in 1862 to an Institution which had been formed in Rotterdam for the purpose of providing Scriptures for the blind, and this was but the first of a series which amounted in 1875 to £159. In 1863 the Committee placed 500 volumes at the disposal of two missionaries about to be sent to Surinam by the Society for the Emancipation of Slaves in the Dutch West Indies. Slavery had just ceased in these possessions, but the Emancipation Society, instead of dissolving, had decided to continue its efforts in the cause of a higher enfranchisement. Similar encouragement was extended to the German Home Mission at Rotterdam, and the Dutch Evangelical Society at the Hague.

The jubilee of the Netherlands Bible Society was celebrated in August 1864. It now numbered twenty-one branches with six thousand members, and in addition to the translations which it had promoted in the languages of the

Dutch colonies in the East, it had circulated during the half century of its operations nearly 1,000,000 copies of the Word of God.

A fresh impulse was given to the "Bible" school movement in 1865 by an awakening which had taken place in the Lutheran Church, and the Committee readily added to their grant list five new schools with seven hundred children. This and similar acts of helpfulness met with a warm response. At Francken and at Delft—Pepys's "most sweet town, with bridges and a river in every street"—the young people collected among themselves 34 florins (£2, 16s. 8d.); older friends became interested, and altogether over £141 was contributed to the building fund of the new Bible House.

To these days belongs "the little lighted window of Rotterdam"; and this was how it came to be lit. Isaac Van Dorp, the veteran colporteur, lived in Rotterdam, and his house, like those of some of his colleagues, served as a kind of depôt. Every one knew him; many encouraged his work — people of his own class. Then came a person of some rank, who set such store by the Bible that even a single word from the sacred page might, he thought, be blessed to the saving of souls. "In consequence," wrote Van Dorp, "he was desirous that I should place an open Bible in my window, and that at night there should be a candle beside it, so that the passers-by might be able to read it. If I would agree to carry out his suggestion he would bear all the cost. I consented; and ever since, both by day and by night, there are people standing at my window reading the open Bible." Van Dorp was now an old man,—had been born at Rotterdam, son of a builder of small craft, three-and-seventy years before. He gave himself to Christ when he was twenty-six; read the Scriptures and taught among the Christian folk of his own city, and long bore testimony in Kralingen village, until at last a faithful minister filled once more its empty church. For some time he was a lamp-lighter

in Rotterdam, and was often seen kindling the lamps, in company with some awakened sinner who wished for private talk with him as to the way of salvation. In 1844 he entered the service of the Society. On his first journey beyond the city, "What!" exclaimed a miller, glancing at his knapsack, "do I see you a postman now?" "Yes, and I have a letter for you; twenty-five cents, please," and he offered him a New Testament. "I urgently pray you," said Van Dorp, as they parted, "to search diligently the contents of the volume, for the day of your death is appointed by God." Within the week, by one of those strange dispensations which thrill us with a sense of divine oversight, the miller was killed by a sail of his mill. The apostolic spirit in Van Dorp gave him no rest. In 1845, and long afterwards in 1857, he spent his Sundays for months together among the hundreds of navvies who were piling up the embankments for the Dutch railways; his house in the Achter Klooster became "as well known as the Groote Kerk of St Lawrence or the statue of Erasmus," and when the colportage of the day was done he was never too weary to hold meetings, to read the Scriptures, or to speak of their priceless message to the world. For none of these services would he accept remuneration. Collections were made, but it was on the clear condition that the money should be spent in Bibles and Testaments for the poor, and especially for the school children. So the little window in Rotterdam came to be lit, and the old callings of lamp-lighter and letter-carrier were carried on under the colporteur's humble roof. First one and then another bookseller followed the example, and day by day in one of the principal streets of Rotterdam a leaf of the large "States" Bible[1] was turned for those who stopped to look in at the window.

Old Isaac Van Dorp!—his friends had long asked him to let them have his portrait, but he had smiled and shaken

[1] The standard Dutch Bible, projected by the Synod of Dort in 1618-19, published in folio with the sanction and at the expense of the States-General in 1637.

his head, until they proposed that he should consent for the benefit of the new Bible House. He could resist no longer, and the result was a contribution of 50 florins (£4, 3s. 4d.) to the building fund.

In 1866 the country was smitten with cattle-plague and cholera. The fields were ravaged, and thousands of homes were left desolate. For a season at least men's thoughts turned to the eternal verities, and though the old manner of life was generally resumed when the calamity had passed, it seemed as though the influence for good had not been altogether transient. In that and the two succeeding years the sales of the Biblemen were larger than they had ever been, and the men themselves were treated with more consideration.

The Holland Agency completed its first quarter of a century in 1869. During the twenty-five years it had scattered broadcast 697,045 copies of the Scriptures. It had given the first impulse to a renewed spiritual life; had assisted and encouraged every form of evangelistic activity; had brought within the range of its work the Roman Catholic and the Jew—two-fifths of the population—when no systematic effort had been made by others to spread among them the Book of Life. Apathy and infidelity still abounded; in a Protestant land which owed everything to the Bible there were still Protestants who opposed its dissemination; but the efforts of ministers and laymen to stem the tide of error, the establishment of Christian schools in every direction, the increasing number of young men seeking to fit themselves for the service of the Gospel, were so many proofs that the Word of the Lord had not returned to Him void.

Arrangements were now made which gave Mr Van der Bom more time to visit his colportage areas, to note conditions and opportunities, to enter into closer relations with the Churches, and to enlist the sympathies of influential people. The effect of this personal intercourse was immediate,

especially in the matter of financial support. Hitherto free gifts had been small and haphazard—£561 between 1855 and 1869, including a legacy of £166 and the contribution for the new Bible House. In the next fifteen years the amount raised in large and regular donations was £1589. Similarly, though here there was a confluence of causes, the circulation, which had slowly advanced from 109,000 to 119,000, now leapt up to 165,000 and closed with 173,000 in 1883-84.

In that interval of steady progress there happened many things of which we must take note.

The International Exhibition at Amsterdam was held in the summer of 1869, but the directors showed little respect for the Bible. Every facility was denied, and crowds went away empty-handed; still, in spite of disfavour, 1100 copies of the Scripture were sold and 2700 Gospels were distributed gratis.

It was about this time that the Scottish Bible Society entered the field, and in the course of its work a part of its supplies was drawn from the Amsterdam depôt.

On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, when several thousands of troops were massed along the frontiers of Holland, five of the six colporteurs visited the barracks, camps, and forts. Their reception by the military authorities was in general most friendly, and they met with few checks which were not balanced by pleasant surprises. "At Gronichen," wrote one of the men, "a Roman Catholic major most materially assisted me, whereas at Nijmegen a Protestant colonel did all in his power to frustrate my plans." The Limburgers were as bitterly hostile as ever, but elsewhere the books were received with emotion and thankfulness. Over 23,700 copies—for the most part New Testaments and Portions—were distributed.

In 1872 we find the little window still alight in Rotterdam; but for four years gas-jets have taken the

place of the candle, and a widow lady now pays the expense.

In December 1873 the Scriptures were supplied to the expedition embarking for the long war in Achin.

After thirty-one years' service Mr Van der Bom was called to his rest in the spring of 1875. Growing infirmities had latterly disabled him from active employment, but with his son's assistance he had fulfilled the duties of his office. One of his last acts was a renewed application to the railway companies for leave to put the Bible in their waiting-rooms. The reply was a curt "Not rational" from one company, and a "Likely to cause ill-feeling among the passengers" from another. He was succeeded by Mr H. J. Reessé, whose responsibilities were lightened by an admirable staff of colporteurs. Old Van Dorp, in his eighty-third year, was still busy, distributing his 3000 or 4000 copies "with all the freshness of youth"; two other veterans, Orneé and Smit, were completing their thirtieth and twenty-seventh years of Bible-work, while the three younger men had caught the spirit of their seniors.

The true morning was now at length beginning to break on Holland. In the summer of 1876, at an immense missionary meeting held in the open air near Velzen, the cause of the Society was pleaded with impassioned eloquence by a young minister, who described its origin in the days of destitution and its labours in many lands and tongues, and boldly claimed for it not only the support of his vast audience, but the allegiance of all kindred institutions. The appeal struck a deep chord in the hearts of the people, who had grown weary of the frigid and sceptical subtleties of the Rationalist teachers.[1] A lay and clerical association for the purpose of colportage was set on foot in the following year by the evangelical party in the Reformed Church, and

[1] At this time, though the orthodox party were increasing in strength, there were two hundred and thirty congregations for which evangelical ministers were being sought.

as the Netherlands Bible Society had, unhappily, lost the confidence of its best supporters by adopting the Neologist Testament issued by the Synod of the Dutch Church, it was decided to obtain supplies from the agency. Mr Reessé received more than one offer from clergymen to accompany his colporteurs, take out regular licences, and assist in the work; and, after long delay, even the committee of the Netherlands Society came to acknowledge the value of Biblemen.

Zeal was redoubled by another wanton attack on education. For over twenty years the "Bible" schools had held their ground, when suddenly in 1878 a Bill which threatened their very existence was passed by both Houses of Parliament. The King was implored to interpose; but if the monster petition, signed by 304,000 adults and representing 1,500,000 of the Protestant population, failed to move the Government, it roused the people to the defence of the Divine Book. Large quantities of the Scriptures were purchased by wealthy men and women for distribution among the working classes; pastors bestirred themselves on behalf of the poor in their congregations; Young Men's Christian Associations, a new Tract Society, and similar bodies threw themselves into the movement. The "well-remembered day in August when all Christian teaching was abolished" was set apart for a yearly national collection in support of the Bible schools. In 1879, £3500 was raised; £7000 in 1880; £8000 in 1881; £9000 in 1882; and this was but a small part of the sacrifices made to maintain about 400 schools with nearly 80,000 scholars. The Bible schools cost the Christian people of Holland little less than £120,000 per annum.

Meanwhile, with high hearts, the staff of the agency pursued their labours. For the first time the colporteur waded ashore from his lugger to the lonely North Sea islands—the broken fragments of what was the ancient

coast in the days of Tacitus, when Vlie Stream flowed between Terschelling and Vlieland, and forest and fresh-water meres covered the site of the Zuyder Zee. He landed, too, on "the green raft" of Marken—Krimp was the man—and clambered up the high ladders to the pretty blue-red-black-and-green villages built for safety on the tops of the pile-mounds. A kindly race, these Marken women in their embroidered white mitres, flowered bodices, and dark blue skirts; "they hesitated to take a large New Testament at so low a price as twenty-five cents, and ten of them willingly paid me thirty, so that I was able to give copies to two young men who were too poor to buy." Ornée was in the northern provinces (his only daughter fading away in consumption at home); Geus in the south-west, telling of the brazen serpent and the thief on the cross to the navvies employed on the new water-way from the Maas;[1] Van Dorp still in Rotterdam — eighty-seven now, a little shaky in the hands, a little less alert of hearing, but "blessed with untiring zeal and an iron constitution."

The total circulation of the agency reached the million in March 1879. Since 1815 the Netherlands Bible Society had distributed 1,386,181 copies. Between them 2,418,000 copies had been dispersed throughout Holland.

After some weeks of prayer and song and meditation in the house of the lighted window, Van Dorp died in great joy on the 4th January 1880. He had suffered a slight stroke of apoplexy on the last Sunday of November while entering the Home for Incurables, but had recovered sufficiently to read a chapter and give his usual Sunday address, and that was his last public service. No fewer than 136,000 Bibles and Testaments had passed through

[1] More than that. He pleaded for the poor place with several influential people, and within a few months a church was built, between eighty and ninety children were gathered in Bible classes, and plans were in progress for a "Bible" school.

his hands, and 3855 of these were sold in the closing year of his life.

Illness and failing strength led to Mr Reessé's resignation in September 1881. His name was added to the roll of Honorary Life Governors, and in the following January his place was filled by Henry Grelinger of Düsseldorf, who had helped to found the Young Men's Christian Association of Amsterdam thirty years before, and who had gained a valuable knowledge of the East as a merchant trading with Java and other Dutch colonies. Within three weeks the first hint of a policy of withdrawal was given. "You know," wrote one of the Secretaries, "we should be only too glad if the Christian countries of Europe would do all the Bible-work they need for themselves and for their colonies." At the same time, by a curious coincidence, self-help was the theme of a pamphlet issued by the pastor of the Christian Reformed Church at Zaandam: "It is a shame for the country to be provided by foreigners with the fundamentals of our Christian existence." Then came the direct question—"Would the Committee allow me to consider it my mission to induce the Dutch people to do their own Bible-work?" and the answer was equally explicit.

Rationalism was on the decline; the Netherlands Bible Society had decided to give colportage a trial; its committee was strengthened by an accession of prominent Evangelicals; and in 1883, when Grelinger was giving the Christians of Holland "more and more of the financial burden of the work to bear," its annual circulation reached the highest point yet attained—52,800 copies. In connection with the events of that year there were various signs of a high and liberal spirit. At the Amsterdam Exhibition, which opened in May, the Society was awarded a gold medal for its display of versions; copies were sold at the kiosks in half a dozen languages; a Russian sailor emptied his purse for a New Testament, and a Chinaman brought 5s.

as a small contribution; but of the £300 guaranteed for the kiosks by the Society only £60 was drawn, and the rest of the expense was borne by Dutch friends. With a special view to the Exhibition *Mary Jones and her Bible* appeared for the first time in a foreign tongue. It was published at the expense of the Nijmegen Orphanage, and an abridgment was inserted in a Dutch reading-book for schools. The translation was the work of Mr Reessé.[1]

On the 15th October, amid a flourish of garlands and tricolors, the King and Queen of Holland unveiled in Utrecht[2] the statue of John of Nassau, the founder of the Dutch Union in 1579. "If Count John had been present," cried a speaker a few days later, when deputies from all parts met for the fifth commemoration of "the well-remembered day in August"—"would he have rejoiced? Would he not have asked—'What has become of your millions of money? Have you spent them in bringing the Word of God into every house?' And the answer would have been—'On the contrary; this people has spent its money to do away with the Word of God.'" Ten thousand pounds was subscribed, making in the five years a total of £37,000 raised in aid of the "Bible" schools.

The old brotherhood of colporteurs was breaking up. Ornée, who had served forty years, was no longer able to go far afield, but he still managed to sell some 3000 copies through friends in Groningen and Friesland. Smit, after thirty-eight years' travelling, could hardly work at all, and was doing what he could on retired pay. Krimp, of the islands, and another junior had left. De Geus alone remained blithe and vigorous. The need for extensive colportage had ceased, Grelinger thought. Two new men, however, were engaged,—half their salaries and expenses

[1] He died in 1887, devoted to the end to the great work of the Society. *Mary Jones* suggested to Mr Grelinger a Dutch version of *Gleanings for the Young*, which began at the New Year without any expense to the Society.

[2] The chief depôt had just been moved from Amsterdam to Utrecht.

being provided by friends in Holland; and North Brabant was assigned to the care of a local committee. One notes the gradual self-effacement by which it was hoped the Society might in time withdraw without injury to the religious life of the country.

As the period closes we are brought into contact with the so-called Jansenist Church, in reality the venerable though anathematised remnant of the pre-Reformation Church of the Netherlands.[1] Early in 1883 a labouring man called on Mr Grelinger, and reminded him of the "Jansenist" New Testament issued by the agency in 1846. It had been his daily food, and now that he was growing old he wished to give every member of his church a copy. What would it cost to print? "Six thousand copies—about £250." The tears rose in his eyes: "I can spend only £125," and he went away sad, but not hopeless. The Committee undertook the rest. The little volume which appeared in 1884 was the good man's *viaticum* as he lay, not long afterwards, on his sick-bed; and the 6000 copies, distributed among the different churches of his communion, elicited a letter of "gratitude, high esteem, and faithful friendship" from Mgr. John Heykamp, the Archbishop of Utrecht.

During the thirty years the Bibles, Testaments, and

[1] The term "Jansenist" was resented: "We are no more Jansenists than we are Bossuetists or Quesnelists. We defended Jansen when he was unjustly attacked; but we do not hold by any means all the opinions of Jansen, who, for instance, believed in the infallibility of the Pope. . . ." *See* Ditchfield, *The Church in the Netherlands*, for the whole story of Jansenism—a record of scandalous Jesuit intrigues. In 1824 there was no issue as to doctrine or the primacy of Rome; "the only point in question is this," wrote the Archbishop of Utrecht (Van Vos) to Leo XII.—"Whether the Batavian Church, which has always maintained its hierarchical order, and which has made itself celebrated under the rule and government of its own pastors, should be at once *turned into a simple mission at the good pleasure of the Curialists*; so that, if I may thus speak, it should be deprived, by one stroke of the pen, of its bishops and cathedral chapters." Cajolery, excommunication, and other devices having failed, a new Roman Catholic hierarchy was introduced in 1853, with the sanction of the Government, but in strong opposition to the will of the people. It was a subtle stroke of priestcraft, but the Ultramontane prelates intruded into newly-created sees do not represent the ancient Church of the Netherlands, which has since joined hands with the "Old Catholics" of Germany.

Portions circulated by the agency numbered 850,689. Of these (from 1860 onwards) 366,408 passed through the hands of the colporteurs, and 49,904 (from 1872) were supplied to the Scottish and Netherlands Bible Societies. In addition, over 174,000 copies were registered as having been despatched abroad.

From 1857, when separate accounts were first kept for Holland, Belgium, and Cologne, the expenditure in connection with the agency amounted to £81,425. The receipts came to £38,956, or 47·8 per cent. of the outlay.

The aggregate distribution in the Netherlands from the establishment of the agency in 1843 was 1,205,167 copies.

No more than a passing reference has been made to the work in Oriental versions accomplished by the Netherlands Society. In our survey of the East we shall catch occasional glimpses of its translators and of the Dutch missionaries.

CHAPTER XX

THE MONOPOLY IN DENMARK

In 1856 the Society resumed its operations in the little sea-belted kingdom whose chief glory it was that it had sent the first Protestant missionaries to India and Greenland. The need of a more abundant supply of the Scriptures in Denmark, and of a more effectual distribution throughout the islands and mainland, had long weighed on the hearts of the Committee. Comparatively little had yet been done to make the Bible the book of the people. From its foundation in 1814 down to 1855 the Danish Bible Society had distributed no more than 230,256 copies of Scripture, and by far the greater number of these had been New Testaments. During the twenty-nine years which had elapsed since the Apocrypha decision severed its connection with London, its circulation had apparently not exceeded 150,000 copies, an average of little over 5000 a year. Its work had been supplemented, it is true, by the issues from the Royal Orphan House at Copenhagen, but the Orphan House had no agents in the provinces, the booksellers charged higher prices for the volumes they took for sale, and colportage was unknown. Finally, the cost of the Scriptures even in the capital was beyond the means of the great mass of the population. In most houses a single copy of the New Testament might have been found, partly on account of the custom of giving the volume to young people at confirmation; but the Bible was a rarity.

In their desire to counteract the growing scepticism of the

time the Committee were confronted by a serious difficulty. The importation of the Danish Scriptures from abroad was prohibited under ruinous penalties; while in Denmark itself the printing of the Word of God was the monopoly of the Royal Orphan House,[1] which restricted its issues to an annotated version containing the apocryphal books in the Old Testament and marginal references to them in the New. Happily a compromise was effected in the summer of 1855, when Mr Knolleke, the assistant foreign secretary, laid before the directors of the Orphan House a proposal for an edition of the New Testament without notes or references to the Apocrypha. Their consent was given, and forthwith a small agency committee, with the Rev. N. P. Grönberg as secretary, was formed to represent the Society in Denmark.

The edition left the press two years later, and so eager was the demand that impressions of 10,000 and 20,000 were ordered in rapid succession. A depôt had been opened in Copenhagen; circular letters had been sent to every Danish-speaking parish in the kingdom and to many of the landed proprietors both in Denmark and Sleswick; a colporteur was engaged; pastors and schoolmasters made application for copies; in some country places small distributing associations were formed; orders came in from a number of booksellers; and among the earliest patrons of the agency was the good Queen-Dowager Caroline Amalie, who thenceforth provided regularly for the needs of the school for poor girls which she had founded and the asylum

[1] The growth of this monopoly is curious. In 1714 the Danish Government appointed a Missionary Committee, which was authorised to print and sell the Holy Scriptures. A little later, on the founding of the Royal Orphan House, which was licensed to print and sell books, the Missionary Committee became directors of the institution, and naturally printed the Scriptures at the Orphan House press. Early in the twenties a General Church Inspection Committee was appointed, and the integrity of the sacred text was intrusted to its censorship. Thenceforth the position of the directors of the Orphan House was that of printers and publishers of the Bible, and in 1740 they secured for the institution the exclusive privilege of holding that position. Subsequently, on the dissolution of the General Church Inspection Committee, the directors of the Orphan House assumed unlimited jurisdiction in the matter of Bible publication. The result of the monopoly was "imperfect editions, high prices, and a short supply."

in Roskilde. In three and a half years over 24,000 copies had been sold, and already it was noted that both in the capital and in country districts numerous meetings were being held for the reading and explanation of the Scriptures.

But if such striking progress was made it was not because the way had been free from difficulties. On revisiting Denmark in 1860 Mr Knolleke found that objections were raised to the omission of the references and marginal readings which appeared in the Orphan House issues; that many persons—among them two of the bishops—were strongly averse to any foreign interference in their affairs, whether political or religious; and that a section of the clergy opposed the work as uncalled-for, as more likely indeed to do harm than good, by leading the people from the living word of the preacher. These specious contentions were silently swept aside by the new life which was awakening in the hearts of the people themselves.

A further concession had in the meanwhile been obtained from the Orphan House. The Book of Psalms—the only edition of the kind at that date—appeared in 1861, and at once became a favourite volume in Danish homes.[1] By the beginning of 1863 the circulation of the agency had reached a total of 58,545 copies. Special arrangements had been made on behalf of the military; among the shipping and in the poorer quarters of Copenhagen five colporteurs were at work under the direction of the Moravian pastor; and a newly formed Church Association for Home Missions had established stations in Zealand, Fünen, and East Jütland, which rendered valuable service.

It was a memorable year in Danish annals. The marriage of the Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra was solemnised in March: in December the sudden death of

[1] Both for the New Testament and the Psalter the full price was paid to the Orphan House, but where it was needful, as in the case of soldiers, the books were sold at reduced prices.

Frederick VII. was the signal for a renewal of the Sleswick-Holstein trouble. Of the war which followed, and of the part taken by the representatives of the Society among the troops, some account has already been given.[1] In Denmark the circulation in 1864 amounted to little less than 22,000 copies of the New Testament and the Psalms, and the aggregate for the nine years stood at 99,406.

From the beginning, however, it had been the wish of the Committee to place the complete Bible within reach of the entire population, and in 1863 an application was laid before the Orphan House for an edition excluding the Apocrypha. The reply was a definite refusal, which the Committee considered it advisable to challenge; but an appeal to the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs produced no satisfactory result, though it was acknowledged that the object of the Society was much to be desired. In 1866 the printing of New Testament Portions was conceded, but the Committee's proposal for a New Testament with marginal references to the canonical books alone caused some demur as a questionable departure from the standard of the Orphan House. Even after the directors had been induced to forego their objections and the undertaking had been begun, fresh difficulties were started, and it was only after long delay and vexatious negotiation that the edition was allowed to proceed. By this time, however, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction at the ungracious and arbitrary manner in which the directors seemed to be exercising their authority was finding expression at diocesan meetings and in the public press.

After ten years' service as secretary of the Copenhagen Committee the Rev. N. P. Grönberg left Denmark, and on the 1st October 1865 the Rev. John Plenge, who had been chaplain of the Danish church in London, entered on his duties as the regular agent of the Society. Finding that little was to be expected from the consideration of the Orphan

[1] Chap. viii. p. 100.

House directors, he advised the Committee to approach the King[1] for permission to import a quantity of Danish Bibles which had been printed at Cologne for distribution in the Duchy of Sleswick. A memorial was sent through Lord Shaftesbury; the petition was supported by the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs; and his Majesty readily consented on the understanding that the Orphan House should receive a royalty on every copy. The books arrived in 1868, and in a few months the whole 2500 volumes were bought up, and large orders were left unexecuted. A new edition was begun at Cologne, and a second memorial was presented by Mr Plenge, who was most graciously received by the King. His Majesty had made himself acquainted with the subject, and after expressing his astonishment at the liberality with which the Society had provided for the spiritual needs of his people, admitted that it was better they should have a Bible without the Apocrypha than no Bible at all. Permission was granted for another 2500 on the same terms, and the directors of the Orphan House reduced the price of their own Bibles from 9s. to 4s. 9d. But the extra supply was quite inadequate to meet the demand, and in March 1870, for the third time, the King was asked to sanction the introduction of a limited number of Norwegian Bibles (identical in language but somewhat different in text), on a royalty of about 2¼d. per copy. After four months' delay an unfavourable reply was returned by the Government on the ground that the Norwegian text differed from the Danish, and that the Revised Version, which had been completed under Professor Hermansen, would be issued in a few months.

The long-expected version appeared in 1871, and the Committee at once gave instructions for the production of a large edition at Cologne from the revised Danish text. The Orphan House and the Danish Bible Society, which

[1] Christian IX., father of the Princess of Wales.

throughout had opposed the distribution of the purely canonical Scriptures, and in their aversion to the adoption of more efficient plans had declared that "there was no great want of Bibles in Denmark," now attempted to preoccupy the ground by reducing their price from 4s. 9d. to 3s. 6d. The results of such a policy could meet with nothing but approval from the Committee, but the change came too late to affect the displeasure which had been aroused by the intractability of the directors. The matter had been discussed without reserve by clergy and laity; for two consecutive sessions it had engaged the attention of Parliament, and in 1871 a motion for the abolition of the monopoly was carried by a large majority. In August another memorial praying for increased liberty of action in printing the Bible was prepared and signed by the President. It was to have been presented to the King by the Rev. S. B. Bergne, but, owing to his illness, his place was taken by Mr Plenge. His Majesty, who was again most cordial, expressed his willingness to do all in his power to satisfy the wishes of the Committee. His kindly disposition was strengthened by the personal recommendation of the good Queen-Dowager,[1] and to her advocacy the result was largly due. By a decree of the 11th May 1872 the Society was allowed to import the Danish authorised version, without the Apocrypha, on payment of a royalty of one mark (over 4d.) per copy, and to have editions printed without extra charge at the Orphan House. Thus through the wise overruling of the King and the untiring energy and conciliatory spirit of the Society's agent, the action of the Committee was freed, after seven years of argument, appeal, and protest, from conditions more stringent than were imposed in any other country in Europe, Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Mohammedan.

We may now revert to the ordinary work of the agency.

[1] Queen Caroline Amalie died in the spring of 1881: "a very pious lady," whose life was spent in the promotion of all Christian objects.

One of Mr Plenge's first projects was to establish small depôts in every district in the kingdom. By 1869 he had twenty-eight of these, besides thirty correspondents, who kept smaller supplies. Among the other organisations which gave their co-operation, the Society for Home Missions, which had extended its system all over the country, had in its employ fifty colporteurs and lay preachers who passed from place to place, holding meetings, preaching, and selling the Scripture.

In the summer some ten thousand troops went under canvas a few miles from Viborg, and for thirteen years or more a colporteur spent about a fortnight among the tents on the high hills surrounded by the lakes and beechwoods of Jütland. From the first he was well received; later, when two went, they were treated "with marked respect" by the commanding officer, who placed a tent at their disposal for their books, and offered them bedding if they cared to sleep in camp—"a thing which no stranger is allowed to do." The soldiers gave them friendly assistance—welcome enough in the few crowded hours in which Bible-work could be done. In 1876, 1790 Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters were disposed of in ten days between six and nine o'clock in the evening; in other words, there were but thirty hours available, and the books were sold at the rate of one a minute. During the next visit 2183 volumes were distributed in the same time, although half the men had been in camp two years before.

In 1874 Denmark was in a more flourishing condition than it had been since the beginning of the century. On all sides appeared the signs of wealth and prosperity. Scarcely less noticeable were the tokens of a revival of religious earnestness and activity; and there was no room to doubt that this improvement was intimately connected with the study of the Word of God. In 1867 Mr Plenge had set down the highest average distribution on which the Committee could count at 15,000 copies; in 1874 it exceeded

23,000.[1] In 1876 sprang up a desire for a larger and more costly volume, which should be worthy of a place in divine service and family worship and suitable for presentation on "great occasions." A handsome Family Bible in royal octavo was accordingly published in the following year, and was subsequently furnished with maps.

Considerable change took place in the methods of operation in the later seventies. The sub-depôts were gradually superseded by the booksellers, who ordered direct from the capital and sold at the regular prices; and as the Moravian Brethren gave up colportage and the Home Missions reduced their travelling staff, the agency increased its own contingent of Biblemen to a score or more, who were engaged for longer or shorter periods during the twelvemonths. In no other country could colportage be managed so cheaply. The entire expense was covered by an allowance of 25 per cent. on the sales until 1883, when the Committee granted such an increase of wages as made it possible for the men to share in the benefits of the Employés' Savings Fund.

"Never," exclaimed Mr Plenge, in his survey of 1877, "never were the churches better attended, or the Gospel more faithfully preached; never was the cause of missions, whether home or foreign, supported with so much zeal and liberality." Yet Denmark had not escaped the blighting influences of infidelity and a Godless socialism. There were prosperous districts, especially in North Jütland, where the people were divided between belief and unbelief, where in one parish a faithful pastor spoke to empty benches, and the colporteur, scoffed at and derided, was refused a night's shelter, while in the next the house of God was crowded by a reverent congregation and the poor were helped by their

[1] The first edition of the revised Danish version printed for the Society at the Orphan House was finished in the spring of 1874, and was on sale in July. In 1882 a Pocket Bible, the demand for which had arisen through the revival meetings of Lord Radstock and Mr Reginald Radcliffe, was in circulation, and 14,000 copies were sold in two and a half years.

neighbours to purchase the Word of Life. This strange alternation between good and evil marked the remaining years of the period. Materialism grew more aggressive; atheists publicly declared that there was no God, no Saviour, no life to come; freethinkers clamoured in Parliament for the omission of the reference to "God and His holy Word" in the time-honoured oath; but against these manifestations were to be set the rapid growth of Sunday schools, the activity of religious denominations, the evidence of a nation awakening to the danger which threatened their spiritual heritage.

In 1883-84 the work of distribution, which began with 3800 copies in 1856, had attained to 40,500 a year; and the aggregate of the twenty-eight years stood at 614,565 volumes, of which as many as 78,324 were Bibles. After the appearance of the Revised Version a single colporteur often sold in a year as many complete Bibles as the Danish Society had been accustomed to distribute in the pre-agency time. Apart from its own labours, however, the agency infused an extraordinary vitality into the operations of the Danish Society, and the benevolent objects of the Orphan House must have benefited to an extent undreamed of in the most arbitrary days of its monopoly.

The total expenditure on the Danish Agency for the twenty-eight years was £49,291; the total receipts amounted to £20,493, or 41·5 per cent.[1]

From Denmark we obtain a glimpse or two of the wild eider-haunted cluster of the Faroe Islands. In 1859 an application for New Testaments was received from a pastor in Osterö. Twenty years later correspondence took place as to the possibility of colportage during the summer, but it was agreed that in those boisterous seas the difficulties

[1] Various supplies of the Danish Scriptures—chiefly Portions—for seamen and other Danes abroad were covered by this expenditure.

and expense were too great for such a project. A consignment of books for the supply of small depôts was accordingly despatched in 1880, but as the Scottish Bible Society had attended to the group some eight or ten years before, no more than 433 copies were needed at that time.

Once more Iceland comes into our story. As far back as 1841, when a new edition of the Bible was passing through the island press, Dr Henderson had appealed to the Society for assistance; but deeply interested as the Committee were, their goodwill was restricted by the Apocrypha regulations. For twenty years the Reports contained no tidings of that wild Norse world on the edge of the Arctic Circle; but in 1861 the New Testament and Psalter were revised with the aid of the Society, and seen through the press at Oxford by Eiríkr Magnússon, the distinguished Icelander who was afterwards appointed Sub-Librarian at Cambridge University.[1] The volume was in circulation in 1863, and in July that year the Icelandic Bible Society recorded its heartfelt thanks for the friendly solicitude which placed the Scriptures within reach of all. Although in such a country transport and distribution were extremely difficult, two years had not gone by before the 10,000 copies had been exhausted, and a second impression equally large was ordered. In the interim the Old Testament was being revised at the expense of the Society by Professor Pjetursson, superintendent of the Pastoral College at Reykjavík, and Lector Sigurdr Melsted; the proofs were read by Magnússon; and in 1866 the complete Bible issued from the press.[2] Professor Pjetursson had by this time been raised to the see of Iceland, and thenceforward the circulation of the Word of Life among his people became his especial care. A colporteur was engaged to visit the remote settlements and

[1] Better known, perhaps, by the *Three Northern Love-stories*, the *Story of Grettir*, and the *Story of the Volsungs*, in which William Morris and he collaborated.

[2] As a mark of appreciation the Icelandic Bible Society requested the London Secretaries to become honorary members of their organisation.

outlying farms, the "oases in the lava," and ample provision was made for the needs of those who were too poor to purchase even at the low prices at which the books were offered. During the bad seasons that came shortly afterwards, when the coast was blocked with ice from Greenland, and merchant ships could not make port, and the hay harvest failed in the glacial air, this kindly forethought was widely appreciated.[1]

From time to time in subsequent years news came from the island, of the young generation growing up in the love of the Bible; of copies of the Scriptures distributed among the French fishing fleet (some three hundred boats perhaps, with crews of twenty men each), or on board the French men-of-war stationed in these waters; of remittances for books sold among the people. Up to 1878 the Bishop forwarded over £1214. In the summer of that year the Committee presented him with a copy of the Danish Family Bible in recognition of his services, and in 1884, on the eve of the Tercentenary of the Icelandic version of the Bible, his name was placed on the roll of Honorary Life Governors. To commemorate the completion of that great work,[2] which was the true beginning of the Reformation in Iceland, a Bible with a suitable inscription was presented by the Committee to each of the twenty deaneries in the island, to the Episcopal Archives at Reykjavík, and the Library of the Pastoral Seminary.

[1] A special grant of Scriptures was voted during the famine of 1882, for the relief of which £5505 was subscribed to the Mansion House Fund by the general public.

[2] The printing of Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksson's translation was finished at Holar on the 6th June 1584.—*See* vol. i. p. 164.

CHAPTER XXI

NORSE FELLS AND SWEDISH MERES

In 1854 Mr Knolleke, the assistant foreign secretary, made the first of a series of visits to Norway. He conferred with the agency committee at Christiania, and in July, when the cuckoos were calling and every rocky nook was filled with wild flowers and mountain berries, he travelled northward by carriole to the centres of the four sub-agencies — Trondhjem, Bergen, Stavanger, and Christiansand. Far away, within the Arctic Circle, there was a small Auxiliary at the Alten Copper Mines near Bossekop, founded in 1849 by the Cornish manager of the company; otherwise Trondhjem was the most northerly of the Society's stations, and the provinces of Nordland and Finmark were under the care of the Norwegian Bible Society. At Bergen, it will be remembered, accounts had been closed as far back as 1843 — "our services no longer required"; but in that bright though showery city, with its red roofs and white timber houses, its orchards and forest of masts clustered between the fjord and a sweep of the high fells, Knolleke sought out Christian Joachim Mohn, the "excellent young man" whom Dr Paterson had made treasurer in 1832. With his ready help the sub-agency was revived, and zealous workers soon discovered that there was ample scope for their activity. At Stavanger Knolleke found the sub-agency closely connected with a Local Association[1] which took a large share

[1] The Stavanger Association was formed to co-operate with the Norwegian Society, but the arrangement did not prove satisfactory, and it allied itself with the British and Foreign Agency.

in the work of distribution, and which had decided that it should commemorate the Jubilee of the parent Society by sending colporteurs into Nordland and Finmark.

Throughout his journey the visitor was impressed by the prevailing dearth of the Scriptures, and the necessity for more direct and vigorous methods of action. On his return the Committee forwarded a series of resolutions for the guidance of the sub-agencies; arrangements were made for the supply of schools, hospitals, and prisons; and prices were reduced for the benefit of soldiers, sailors, and factory girls. Larger measures do not appear to have been immediately practicable, and for some time to come the success of the cause depended almost wholly on voluntary effort, the enthusiasm of correspondents, and the co-operation of ministers and resident and travelling schoolmasters. By these means, indeed, incalculable good was effected. In town and country the circulation of the Bible was followed by stirrings of religious conviction; people and clergy gathered together for the reading and exposition of the sacred text; divinity students undertook the visitation of the poor and sick. Still there was everywhere the natural tendency to weariness in well-doing, which constant supervision and encouragement alone could check. In the diocese of Christiania, the most populous in Norway, there were in 1858 half a dozen towns—some of them with ten or twelve thousand inhabitants—in which no attempt was being made to promote the diffusion of the Scriptures, and from which nothing of importance could be expected "until the places had been personally visited."

It was the sparsely-peopled country districts, however, the vast tracts with seven, eight, or nine persons to the square mile, which presented the great problem in Norwegian Bible-work. Devoted though the clergy might be, there was but one pastor to every three or four thousand souls. The average parish covered 70 square miles; some parishes,

with three or four churches far apart, extended over twice or thrice that area. Once in three or four weeks — in some places once in as many months — the pastor ministered to a distant section of his flock, if the fjords were passable and the mountain-roads and bridle-paths were not buried in snow-drifts. In the *Skjærgaard*, the tangle of islands along the coast, there were families cut off by ten or twelve leagues of sea, who were fortunate if they could attend divine service twice a year. Colportage alone could place the Scriptures under every roof in these wild regions, and in 1855 a beginning was made in this arduous and costly work. Bergen despatched supplies to the Lofoden Islands for the cod and herring fleets which lie in watch for the February shoals in the West Sound, and the Stavanger Biblemen set out on the first of many journeys among the hundred and thirty thousand Norwegians and Lapps of the northern bishopric, for whose benefit little had been effected by the district committee of the Norwegian Society in Tromsö.

By a strange ordering of events, the colporteurs scarcely reached the Kwain settlements in the Alten Valley when the Church of Rome established a mission there and opened a seminary, "with every inducement to tempt the residents to place their children under the care of the priests." At the same moment a breath of Pentecost seemed to pass over Tromsö. "An intense desire was awakened for God's precious Word"; the islet-city discarded the gaieties and amusements which had won for it the name of *den lille Paris* ("Little Paris"); balls and theatricals were forgotten, and people met at each other's houses to listen to the Scriptures, to sing hymns, and join in prayer. The revival spread, and in 1857 there were few parishes—and these the inaccessible spots among the fells or along the fjords—in which the day did not close "in golden commerce of celestial things." In the summer of 1858 Mr Knolleke arrived in

Tromsö, the concurrence of a few influential persons was secured, and the fifth Norwegian sub-agency was founded.

About the same time colportage was adopted at Christiania; a few years later the sub-agencies at Christiansand, Bergen, Trondhjem, and Tromsö had their Biblemen; in 1865, as a token of the esteem in which the work was held, the steamboat companies of Christiania undertook to convey the Scriptures free of cost; in 1867 the same privilege was granted by the Government and four private companies, and free freight for all consignments from the Bible House to the agency was generously offered by Mr Seligman, a Glasgow merchant, who owned the *North Star*. Before long the colporteurs themselves were honoured with free passage upon the lakes and fjords. The Society's operations were thus extended so far beyond the old limits that the average annual circulation, which had reached about 6000 prior to the Jubilee and had grown to 16,000 between 1854 and 1864, rose in 1864-74 to 20,000, and considerably exceeded 24,000 in the ten years following.

Upheld by prayer, the Biblemen pressed further and further afield: as far south as the light on Lindesnaes; as far north as the northernmost town in the world, Hammerfest on treeless Kvalö Island ("all the trees but one cluster of birch cut down for fire-wood long ago; and now we look to the Gulf Stream for driftwood.") The Book guided them to strange places. There were the solitudes of Trondhjem where some houses were so lonesome that only two persons, besides the nearest neighbours, had entered in eight years. There was the west-coast parish, in which during two incumbencies no man had been followed to the grave—not that death and sorrow were unknown, but that all the men-folk were lost at sea. Now the scene was an upland gaard (farmstead) in the Bergen country, where the colporteur was asked to minister to the sick, "and some of these had been bed-ridden for nine or ten years"; now it was a three days' fair, at Drammen or Skien or Grundset perhaps, with horse-dealers

and cattle-dealers, stalls and shows, music and merriment, gay groups of young people, troops of children dancing and singing; and amid the noise and commotion—a Bible in his uplifted hand—stood the colporteur, who knew that "it is not an easy matter to be a Christian during the fair."

So one heard of him in all directions—in the Tromsö region, contending with Apocrypha difficulties and bartering his books for wool, butter, cheese, tallow, and hundreds of skins; among the Reindeer Lapps at Kautokeino, at three-streeted Lillehammer, on tourist steamers, at camps of exercise, among the Biri glass-makers, at the saw-mills and iron-works on Ule Fall, in Saeterdal "where the tall men grow," among the silver miners of Konsberg, where one may still see, let into a wall of the church, the top of the stool on which "Mr Jacobus Stuart" (afterwards James I. of England) "sat on the 25th November 1589, to hear a sermon preached by Mr David Lentz on *The Lord is my Shepherd*." Here he was welcomed, there rebuffed. In the little port of Hougesund, the resort of thousands of fisher-folk, people crowded into his lodging at the close of the day to join him in prayer; in the morning the neighbours lay in wait and begged him to stay and read the Scriptures to them. In Nordland he called at 3755 farmsteads and cottages, met with a careless or scoffing "No" at 2978, and not unfrequently was refused a shelter for the night. In his reports there is scarcely a glimpse of the summer pine-woods or the magical brief twilight which separates sunset from sunrise. One reads instead: "It was snowing, drifting, blowing the whole day. I was obliged to take another road, more hilly than any road I ever saw before, over the high fjelds, and then down again to the valleys beneath. When I had travelled two miles (fourteen English) I sold two Bibles and one Testament. I considered it too early to seek night quarters, and afterwards there were no lodgings to be got, so I had to travel all that night."

Here, as among the reticent people of Sweden, one heard little of personal blessings and deliverances: the results of three years of Bible-work were seen in the quickening and enlargement of the spiritual life of the whole country. Romanism, it is true, gained a foothold;[1] too many among the poorer classes were led astray by the pernicious teachings of the Latter-day Saints;[2] materialism, at a later date, invaded even the quiet valleys of Trondhjem, and "the Bible was assailed with an audacity hitherto unknown"; but the religious vitality of Norway was evinced in the number of parishes in which one might now travel far to find a house without at least a New Testament, in the increased observance of family worship, in the development of missionary enterprise — missions to the heathen, to the Jews, home missions, missions to seamen in foreign as well as native ports, in the building of churches and schools, the formation of Young Men's Christian Associations, the employment of city evangelists and Biblewomen, and, not least, in the founding (in 1868) of the Luther Society with its band of colporteurs for the dissemination of the Scriptures and religious literature.

Of outstanding events there were not many, and these may be briefly chronicled.

In July 1873 Oscar II. and Sophie of Nassau were crowned in the old green-grey cathedral at Trondhjem, the people coming with flowers to all the post-stations to greet "the mother of the land" as her Majesty drove herself, Norwegian fashion, in her own carriole from the Romsdal. Thirty years hence, long after the Society's work shall have closed in Norway, we shall hear once more of these royal lovers of the Bible.

[1] Beginning in Christiania in 1845 with worship in a room, the Roman Catholics built a handsome church, with a school and sisterhood attached; and in 1874 an institution for children was founded at a cost of nearly £5000. The mission at Alten was removed to Hammerfest in 1862, and other churches were built or sites obtained in the provinces.

[2] At the close of 1878 the Mormon Scandinavian Mission numbered 46 branches, 467 elders, and 4158 church members. — Bancroft, *Hist. Pacific States — Utah*, p. 411, *n.*

In 1877 the Society lost a tried and venerable friend in Sir John Rice Crowe, K.C.B., Consul-General for Norway. He was over fourscore when he passed away in a peaceful morning sleep. For more than half a century he had served his country; for thirty-three years he had been the honorary representative of the Society, and almost the whole of the printing and binding of the Norwegian Scriptures had been done under his supervision. From 1863 his name had stood on the roll of Life Governors, from 1875 on that of the Vice-Presidents. Both as Consul-General and representative of the Society he was succeeded by Captain Henry Michael Jones, who had won the Victoria Cross in the storming of the quarries before Sebastopol.

New Testament Portions in Norwegian were published in 1877, and in less than two years 32,000 Psalters and single Gospels were sold.

In 1878 the famous Alten Copper Mines were abandoned, and the little Auxiliary, which had circulated 2683 copies in Norwegian, Finnish, and Swedish, closed its mission in its thirtieth year.

From 1878 to 1881 Norway shared in the depression and suffering which prevailed throughout Europe. But even in this dark season of distress and feverish emigration, when the colporteurs "sowed beside the waters of bitterness," the work of the sub-agencies and of the Luther, Norwegian, and Scottish Bible Societies bore evidence to the attachment of the people to the Word of God.

In 1880 Captain H. M. Jones, V.C., was enrolled as a Life Governor on his appointment to Philippopolis,[1] and his place was occupied until 1883 by the Rev. St John F. Mitchell, British Chaplain in Christiania.

In 1881 Dean Lassen, who had long been chairman of the agency committee at Christiania, retired at the age of

[1] He became Minister-Resident at Bangkok in 1889, at Lima in 1894, and at Quito in 1895.

eighty-five. In the course of the same year Mr S. E. Svendsen of the Stavanger Sub-Agency (Honorary Life Governor since 1870) wrote: "Fifty years, if I live till August next year, I shall have enjoyed the pleasure of corresponding with the British and Foreign Bible Society: we ought to have a jubilee then." Before that date came round he had been called to the everlasting Jubilee.

In the course of the same year, while the Committee were preparing to withdraw from Sweden, public attention was drawn to their efforts for the welfare of Norway by a most ungracious reference in the Report of the Norwegian Bible Society. A strangely inconsistent regret was expressed that the British and Foreign Bible Society was "pursuing its course with as great success as ever, although it worked upon principles which the Lutheran Church could not approve"—with the petulant addition that the native society could undertake single-handed "all the Bible circulation needed in Norway," and that the British and Foreign "should spend its money on some more needy country." The remarks were as unconsidered as they were inconsiderate. At that moment the population of Norway was 1,950,000. Valuable as its work had been, the Norwegian Society, which employed no colporteurs, had issued, since its formation in 1816, considerably less than half a million copies of Scripture, while the agencies, founded in 1832, had circulated, largely through their Biblemen, little less than three quarters of a million.

In the following summer Mr Weakley met Pastor Bernhoft, the secretary of the Norwegian Bible Society at Christiania, and conveyed the assurance that so far from wishing to hinder native effort the Committee would welcome the day when the people of Norway, who had so liberally supported home and foreign missions, took such a view of the claims of their own Bible Society that the whole field might be surrendered to their care. In the same sense he

conferred with the committees of the sub-agencies; but the inequalities, revealed by his tour, in the condition of the different provinces clearly indicated that any hasty project of retirement would be detrimental to the people, whose circumstances, in their own scattered homes or in the distant countries to which they were emigrating, rendered them specially dependent on the possession of the Word of God. All misconceptions, however, were happily removed, friendly relations were renewed, and the Norwegian directors cordially authorised the Society's use of their revised version of the Psalms. Since 1850 the Norwegian Society had completed one revision of the Bible; a second was slowly advancing, but to their great regret the Committee were unable to aid its progress in consequence of the Apocrypha decision.

A last look, as the period terminates at the beginning of 1884! At Bergen Christian Joachim Mohn is now an old man—eighty-one—but scarcely less active than in his prime. He has long been known as "Bible Mohn" (*Bibel-Mohn*). In 1870 he was appointed a Life Governor; six years ago he proposed to retire, but consented to await a successor; in 1882 the Committee presented him with a Bible in recognition of his fifty years' connection with the work. The Bergen Sub-Agency, whose services were "no longer required" in 1843, has distributed 60,000 copies since its revival by Knolleke. The earliest of the colporteurs, Johanssen of Christiania,—one remembers the blowing and snowing and drifting on "the hilliest road I ever saw"—Johanssen resigned in 1878, worn-out with twenty years' service, and died at the age of seventy-five. After twenty years, too, Anders Holbœk of Christiansand resigned in 1880, and died a year ago—nay, lives on rather in his son Anders, who accompanied him in his later journeys. Hans Olsen, another septuagenarian, still travels in summer in Trondhjem, which has greatly changed since his first round

in 1861. The last of the veterans is J. L. Pedersen of Tromsō. Between 1866 and 1881 he visited 20,000 families, without reckoning Lofoden and the fishing stations in Finmark. Among 12,000 there was no Bible, and over 1300 had not even a New Testament. In his eighteenth year of service failing health prevents him from accepting a salary, but he is doing what he can on discount during the great fishing season in the Lofodens.

From 1854 to 1884 the number of Bibles, Testaments, and Portions distributed by the Society in Norway was 610,042, making a total of 698,357 copies from the formation of the agency in 1832. The issues of the Norwegian Society amounted to 382,561 copies during the period and 442,791 from its foundation. In all, from these two sources 1,141,148 copies had been placed in the homes of the people.

The following figures elucidate the progress of the work from 1844, when the expenditure and receipts of the agency were first shown in separate accounts.

Period.	Expenditure.	Receipts.
1844-54	£4,687 3 6	£1,724 17 11
1854-69	32,152 13 5	13,382 6 8
1869-84	34,036 14 10	15,651 10 5
	£70,876 11 9	£30,758 15 0

The agency at Stockholm was reorganised, as we have seen, in the summer of the Jubilee, and the Rev. Johannes Rohtlieb was appointed to the direction of the work in Sweden. For six-and-twenty years he held his charge; and to his instrumentality, under the divine blessing, his adopted country chiefly owed the distinction of being the first on the Continent from which the Society was enabled to withdraw its ministrations.

His vigorous correspondence infused fresh energy into the old methods of operation. Here and there a pastor might be cold and indifferent, might even prove so hostile

as to forbid the colporteur shelter and food; but in the main the clergy co-operated warmly in the spread of the Scriptures, and in many an upland parish the minister or his daughters formed a connecting link between the agency and his congregation. Colportage was developed in many casual forms. The schoolmaster opened a small depôt, spent his holidays with a knapsack on his back, and not infrequently helped the poor to a Bible or Testament out of his meagre salary of £20 a year. The well-to-do peasant ordered from 1000 to 2000 copies, and supplied the Biblemen of his side of the country. Here and there a devout lady, a retired merchant, a rich landowner supported a colporteur of their own. Small district associations were got together for the same purpose; and a number of trustworthy men, recommended by their ministers, worked on a small commission, in direct communication with the agency.

Home mission organisations appeared, and they had their Bible-sellers; parish funds were raised to present the children with Bibles at their confirmation;[1] and beyond these there were the booksellers in the towns, the old diocesan Bible Society of Gothenburg, and the local societies, such as those of Skara, Westerås, Calmar, and Carlscrona, which had been Auxiliaries in the early days.

Thus, at a cost which was estimated at less than a penny a copy, and in a manner that reached the humblest and most remote, the Word of God was circulated impartially throughout the kingdom, from the Baltic to the frontier at Tornea and the fisher stations and reindeer pastures of Lapland, where the catechists of the Swedish Missionary Society gladly shared in the labour. As time went by, the reports became more frequent of spontaneous revivals among the

[1] The Confirmation ticket—granted only after a long course of instruction and a public examination—was in Sweden an important document, the lack of which, except in the case of the dissenting congregations, might bar employment or marriage. The duty of sponsors too was regarded very seriously, and when the time of confirmation came, it was a sacred obligation even with the poorest to provide their god-children with a Bible or Testament.

young, of weekly meetings for Scripture-reading, of a greater reverence for sacred things, of a kindlier reception of the Biblemen, who were detained as long as possible and pressed by letter to come again. "A glorious breath of grace blows over our country," wrote a naval officer who had taken to colportage. "The Lord be praised, there begins to be life among the dead bones!"

The New Testament designed for the Army and Navy left the press in 1855. The first 12,000 copies were sold so quickly that 18,000 more were ordered a few months later; and twenty years afterwards the book was still required in large quantities. The various editions in Finn and Swedish printed at the Stockholm press between 1854 and 1864 numbered from 75,000 to 120,000 copies yearly.

The jubilee of the Swedish Bible Society was celebrated in the capital on the 3rd May 1865. The King and his brother Prince Oscar were present, and the enthusiastic assemblage included the highest and most distinguished in the land. Happy indeed had the Bible Society of Sweden been in its sovereigns! Charles XIV. (Bernadotte) was its "first member and patron"; his son Oscar I. attended many of its anniversaries; and the royal tradition was continued by his successor, Charles XV. Since 1818 the Bible cause had been supported by the influence and example of the Crown. At that great gathering a voice was raised in a greeting of "warmest thanks to that noble people away beyond the sea, whose labours for the increase of God's Kingdom on earth had brought forth such great blessings even to Sweden."

A period of financial trouble and distress had just set in, but happily it was followed by improved trade and a succession of abundant harvests, and the circulation which had declined for a moment again rose steadily. In 1869 Portions were published for the first time in Sweden, but they formed an inconsiderable part of the general sales.

In 1874-75 the yearly issues reached the high-water mark of 100,764 copies, and the increase in the purchase of Bibles indicated not only a return of prosperity but a freer disposition to accept the canonical books without the Apocrypha.

At this date there was probably no other country in the continent of Europe in which the provision of the Scriptures approximated so closely to the number of the inhabitants. During forty years the Swedish Agency had dispersed some 2,200,000 volumes, and the aggregate of the Swedish Bible Society now stood at 875,000; so that there had been a combined issue of considerably over 3,000,000 copies — a supply numerically equal to 75 per cent. of the actual population. In addition, private firms had not failed to find purchasers among the affluent for their illustrated and other costly editions.

If the reports of the agency had been strangely wanting in those personal experiences so frequent in the records of the Society, evidence of the quickening power of the Word of Life was manifest beyond question in the spread of Sunday schools and schools for the poor, in the building of churches and chapels, the founding of homes for the destitute, hospitals for the sick, associations for home and foreign missions. The first Biblewoman was engaged in Stockholm in 1876. She found no great dearth of the Scriptures even among the poorest, but much sin and sorrow. Two years later the home of the Biblewomen had become a refuge in which the fallen might lead a new life, and in 1879 a prisoners' aid society was initiated by the Queen of Sweden herself.

In the encouragement and furtherance of all these benevolent and religious undertakings the Committee took an unfailing interest. Grants were made to the blind asylums, prices reduced for soldiers and sailors, special attention was given to prisons, and a cheap edition was brought out for Sunday and day schools.

Partly in consequence of the freer practice of other societies, whose men were not restricted to the sale of the Scriptures, a distinct decline began in the seventies in the colportage of the Bible alone. The work was at once turned again into the old channel—pastors, correspondents, and revived local associations.

Early in 1880 Dr Rohtlieb resigned the burden of his charge. In July he was laid low by paralysis, and in the following April he passed to his rest at the age of seventy-four. There was barely standing-room in the large church in which the funeral service was held. His coffin was covered with the choicest flowers—"so costly in Stockholm"—and more than fifty carriages followed his remains to the grave far outside the city. Many remembered the young assistant-pastor of 1833; all knew and loved the Bible Society agent who had passed through his hands little short of two and a half million copies of the Scriptures in Finn and Swedish during his twenty-six years of office. It would have gladdened him had he been told during the last weeks of his illness that the Queen of Sweden, in the quiet of Bournemouth, had sent a donation of ten guineas to the Society, and desired to be enrolled as a Life Member.

The Rev. R. H. Weakley, of whom we shall see more in a later chapter, succeeded to the agency in September 1880. His interest was at once attracted by the revision of the Swedish Bible,[1] which had nominally been in progress for over a century, but had been obstructed by the people, who would hear of no change in their sacred book. The spread of education had induced a more intelligent piety, and two tentative editions had been issued, the last in 1878, but had failed to satisfy the Church Council. A version of the New Testament was in preparation for the Synod of

[1] Vol. ii. p. 228, *n*.

1883, and its adoption, he trusted, would be made the occasion for founding a National Bible Society on such catholic lines as would permit the British and Foreign to withdraw from Sweden.

This was the first intimation that the day of dearth in Sweden was at length a thing of the past, and subsequent measures, including the appointment of a distinguished consulting committee of clergy and laymen, were shaped to facilitate a gradual surrender of the work.

In 1881 there was issued a Swedish-Lapp version of the Gospel of St Matthew, by Pastor Låstadius, son of the celebrated preacher of Lappmark. It had been begun in 1876, but his excursions through his tracts of parish had delayed it from year to year. Consignments of 200 copies were despatched by sea to the ports on the Gulf of Bothnia, and lay there till frost and snow made it possible for the reindeer to convey them inland to Arjeplog on the Horn Lake, Jockmock, and Gellivara under the shadow of its iron mountain.

A New Testament, Swedish and English, was put to press in 1882 for the benefit of Swedish emigrants who passed in thousands from Gothenburg on their way to America; and this was the last undertaking of the Committee on behalf of Sweden.

Final arrangements were made at Stockholm on the 3rd July 1883, when the Rev. John Sharp (Secretary) and Dr F. J. Wood met in conference with Mr Weakley, Bishop Grafström, Mr Henry Tottie, and others of the consulting committee. In view of a transfer of plates and stock, it was decided to form a new society on the broad basis of the British and Foreign, for the Swedish Bible Society was ineligible for such a transfer on account of its adhesion to the Apocrypha, and the Evangelical National Society by reason of its diverse objects and publications. The Bishop

undertook to assist in its formation, but after his sudden death on the 11th August the project fell through.

The intentions and motives of the Committee were explained to the people of Sweden in a circular issued on the 1st September, and confidence was expressed that as soon as Swedish Christians understood the position of the British and Foreign Society towards their country and the urgent needs of other lands, they would assume the duty which rightly belonged to them. A few days later Mr Weakley, who had been appointed to the new agency of Egypt, took leave of the many friends he had made, and Mr H. Tottie accepted charge of the affairs of the agency until the close.

By many of the Swedish people the event was felt to be almost a "national calamity," but the course of the Committee was fully justified by the results. In October the revised Swedish New Testament passed the Synod and received the royal sanction. In 1884 the combined issues of the Swedish Bible Society, the National Evangelical Society, and two publishing houses amounted to 212,000 Bibles and Testaments, of which 168,000 were the revised version; and in the following year the entire circulation was estimated at not less than 180,000.

In the autumn of 1885 the remaining stock of the agency —some 15,000 copies—was divided between London, Berlin, and New York, and the doors of the depôt were closed. Mr Tottie was presented in person with a handsome Bible in remembrance of his gratuitous services, and his name was added to the list of Honorary Life Governors, where it stood till his death in 1901.

From its formation in 1832 down to September 1885 the Swedish Agency circulated 2,943,900 copies of the Scriptures. During that time, however, the Society had printed 3,236,000 copies in Swedish and 538,000 in Finn.

The following figures show the growth of the work and the expenditure which it entailed.

	Expenditure	Receipts
1844-54[1] . . .	£23,170 8 3	£13,575 14 2
1854-69 . . .	64,970 16 10	41,821 11 11
1869-84 . . .	71,653 10 8	47,476 9 11
1884-86 . . .	1,341 2 8	3,543 18 5
	£161,135 18 5	£106,417 14 5

Thus was the Society enabled to accomplish, so far as was needful, one small section of its world-wide undertaking. Seventy-seven years had gone by since its first grant—£300—was voted to the Swedish Evangelical Society in 1808, when, according to a careful estimate, in the whole population of Sweden not one family in ten, and among the peasantry not one in twenty, possessed the Word of God.

[1] Up to 1844 the printing expenses at Stockholm are merged in those of the other foreign agencies. The expenditure noted here does not include the cost of English and other copies sent to Stockholm.

CHAPTER XXII

IN ALL THE RUSSIAS

THE Crimean War had scarcely ended when the Society lost an invaluable agent in Mr Mirrielees, who had been associated with its Russian work since 1829. In recognition of his many services, especially during the disastrous conflict, his name was added to the list of Honorary Life Governors; and when he left St Petersburg in 1857, affairs passed into the hands of the committee of management which he had recently formed.[1] The work was continued on the old lines. Relations were maintained with the Lutheran and Reformed clergy and with the various branches of the Protestant Bible Society of Russia which, with twenty sectional committees and two hundred and seventy Auxiliaries, made provision for the needs of colonists and foreigners; in the Baltic provinces the Word of Life was issued from depôts at Revel, Riga, and Dorpat;[2] in Finland there were active friends at Helsingfors, Åbo, Uleaborg, Kuopio, and Borgo.

Unhappily, the Russians themselves derived least benefit from the operations of the agency. In 1858 the specifically Russian share in a total distribution of 23,900 copies was 201 volumes in the old Sclavonic—the authorised version of the Greek Church. Venerable indeed, but obsolete, and as unreadable to the mass of the Czar's people

[1] After a brief residence on the Continent he settled at Ealing, and in 1859 became a member of the Committee, which he attended to within a few days of his death. After an association of forty-eight years, he passed away in April 1877.

[2] In 1856 a Jubilee gift of 171 Bibles in various languages was distributed among the University students at Dorpat, and in 1858 a free contribution of £4, 15s. was received from them in return.

as Wycliffe's would have been to our own, it was still the only Bible within reach of the Russian commonalty, for the Holy Synod, exercising its exclusive rights, refused to print the Scriptures in the mother tongue, or to allow their importation in editions printed abroad. Happily, just before the publication of the ukase which released 23,000,000 from serfdom (3rd March 1861), the Holy Synod gave the people the Four Gospels in their own speech. In a little more than a year upwards of 200,000 copies, many of them in diglot with the Sclavonic text, were in circulation. The whole of the New Testament—the first edition printed in Russia since 1824—was published in the summer of 1862. In the following year, when it was issued in a cheaper form, nearly three-quarters of a million copies had passed through the press. In 1869 appeared the first five books of the Old Testament.

The action of the Holy Synod gave the Society no facilities for the use of its own version—an undertaking of which something will be said later—but it vastly enlarged the scope of the agency. Increasing supplies of Russ Scriptures were drawn from the offices of the Synod, and the agency sales in Russ rapidly advanced from 1000 copies in the report of 1861 to 63,317 in 1869. Several Biblemen in the pay of pious Russian friends worked in St Petersburg and were sent out to surrounding villages. One splendid colporteur, "F.," ranged over many governments, attended the great fairs at Nijni Novgorod, visited Kazan and Perm in the north, Novo Tscherkask in the Don Cossack country, Astrakhan and Baku on the Caspian shores, and finally settled for a time in Tiflis. In 1866, Mr A. Eck of the St Petersburg committee was appointed agent for Northern Russia, and the frequent journeys needed to extend and systematise the work were begun.

Progress meanwhile had been seriously checked in the south. The restrictions imposed on Mr Melville's work at

the time of the war were enforced long after peace was restored. The interdict on his own movements was not relaxed until the autumn of 1858, and even then the prohibition of colportage in Odessa and the neighbouring governments was maintained. Providentially some 15,000 or 16,000 copies had been placed in charge of friends over a wide area, and in Odessa two worthy merchants used their warehouses and the chief hotel in the city as centres of distribution. In 1859 he travelled to Astrakhan where he recovered a store of 2325 volumes "in almost all the languages of Europe and Western Asia," and distributed some 1400. Loading a cart with 500 or 600 copies, he set out for Karass. For ten days he crossed the waterless steppe "without seeing a house, a tree, or a bush," and found Mr Galloway—five-and-twenty years older than when we saw him last[1]—"sitting at his door with two Tartars," and overjoyed to receive a supply of Tartar Testaments. Other journeys took him to the German colonies east and west of the Dnieper, on the Don, in the Crimea, and along the Sea of Azov; but in spite of his exertions no advance was made. The average sales from 1854 to 1866 did not reach 4000 a year.

Severe illness, following a toilsome journey to Novo Tscherkask, compelled him to leave for England late in 1866. He made a quick recovery and returned to Odessa in August 1867, with an assistant and future successor in James Watt, then in the brightness and enthusiasm of one-and-twenty.[2]

It was the year of the great Paris Exhibition. The Czar had escaped the assassin's bullet, and Mr Edwards had expressed to his Majesty the congratulations of the Society and received the reply: "I have always greatly

[1] Vol. ii. p. 265.

[2] James Watt was born of humble parents in a small Scottish village in 1846. Thrown upon the world at an early age, he attained a position of trust in London, but his heart was abroad in the mission-field when Melville visited the Scotch family with whom he was living.

valued the good opinion of England." A few weeks later, a handsome English Bible was taken to St Petersburg by the Secretary, Mr Bergne, and on the Emperor's return was presented through the British Ambassador (Sir Andrew Buchanan), together with an address in which the Committee recorded their joy at his Majesty's escape and their prayers for his guidance and protection. The Czar had always been well-disposed towards the objects of the Society. With the graciousness of his predecessor he had remitted the duties (£413) payable on large quantities of Scriptures imported by the St Petersburg Agency in 1856; a similar privilege was granted in the case of Odessa; and in 1862 the Bible House Library was enriched with a facsimile of the beautiful Greek Codex of the fourth century, inscribed in gold capitals on white vellum, which Dr Tischendorf discovered in the convent of St Catherine on Sinai. The respectful attention of the Society appeared to touch his Majesty, and prepared the way, it was believed, for greater freedom and facilities of work in his dominions.

In 1869 a native Russian Bible Society was established with the direct sanction of the Czar. Early in the year Mr Eck, who had been for some time in feeble health, died at Narva on the Baltic; and a new chapter in Russian Bible history may be dated from the arrival of his successor, the Rev. W. Nicolson, in September.

As the country was mapped out into agency divisions, one began to realise that far-reaching land of steppe and forest over which 84,000,000 were scattered in numberless villages. As late as 1883 there were but four towns of 100,000 inhabitants — St Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Riga — and only twenty-three of 50,000. For lack of a *bourgeoisie* or mercantile middle class, commerce, practically limited to the great fairs, was still under the conditions which prevailed in Western Europe in the Middle Ages.[1]

[1] A characteristic of Slav countries.—Reich, *Success among Nations*, pp. 185, 196.

Russia was an empire of villages. As the train swept across the enormous plains or through the dark and melancholy woods, the traveller came here and there, at wide distances apart, upon clusters of black-looking izbas or log-houses—the "derévnia" and its stone Byzantine church crowned with green cupòlas, or "the seló" without a church. Izba and stables formed two sides of a square; the other two were fenced high with tarred planks against the wolves. On each cottage was painted the pitcher, the axe, or other implement which the inmate was to bring for use in an outbreak of fire. During the long winter the sledge facilitated travelling, but in these villages no provision was made for strangers; and in travelling there was a real danger when cold and hunger drove the wolves out of the forest to the homestead. "The work of a colporteur is no sinecure in such circumstances," wrote Mr Nicolson, "yet it is only through colportage that the great mass of the inhabitants of Russia can be reached."

The Northern Agency included six vast divisions: Moscow, St Petersburg, the Baltic Provinces, Finland, the Volga Valley, and, lastly, the group of southern governments—Kaluga, Tula, Riazan, Tambov, and Penza. St Petersburg was the official centre and chief workshop of the system. In 1874 a depôt was opened in Moscow, book-hawkers were employed, correspondents in the country entered into communication with the depositary, and, as time went by, the brilliant city, whose many-coloured walls, green roofs, and cupolas of silver and lapis-lazuli seemed to reflect its motley population of Russians, Greeks, Turks, Tartars, Armenians, and Jews, became the most important centre of distribution in the empire. New sub-depôts were started at Smolensk, Pskov, Mitau, and at Libau and Windau on the Baltic. In his journeys through Finland Mr Nicolson founded yet more sub-depôts, a colporteur was engaged, arrangements were made for the sale of the Scriptures through the distri-

buters of the Finnish Missionary Society, and between 2000 and 3000 New Testaments were furnished at a nominal cost for the post-stations throughout the Grand Duchy. In the Volga Valley the principal depôt was in the old Tartar city of Kazan. Within its walls bazaars and mosques, picturesque costumes of Chuvash and Cheremiss, the miraculous eikon of "Our Lady made without hands,"[1] the University with its observatory, museum, press, and noble library, mingled the mediæval East with the science and research of the West. But along the banks of the mighty river in Kazan province, and east and west of the Kama there were tribes, to some extent Christianised — Tartars and Cheremisses and Mordvins, Chuvashes, Permiaks, Syrjenians and Votjaks,—over two and a half millions of people, to whom the Society could not yet offer any part of the Bible in their own tongue. The New Testament had appeared in Mordvin and Cheremiss, and a Gospel or two in Votjak and Syrjenian in the days of the first Russian Bible Society, but these had never been reprinted.

Beyond "the Stone Belt" of the Ural another division of the agency stretched across the entire breadth of Asia. A few copies of the Mongolian Scriptures had been issued; between 2000 and 3000 volumes had been distributed by an English resident at Ekaterinburg on the eastern side of the Ural; 1000 had been conveyed by the United States consular agent to Nikolaevsk at the mouth of the Amur. Between those extreme points three and a half millions awaited the light of the Gospel. As knowledge brought into clearer relief the wild expanses to be traversed, the languages and migratory habits of the strange tribes from the icy Arctic to Selenginsk, the magnitude of the work to be done, Siberia might well have become "the region of despair," if trust in the divine promise had not made it "the region of hope."

[1] The famous eikon was stolen in June 1904 from the Bogoroditsky Convent, built in 1597 for its home. The thief was captured, and the "robe of jewels," said to be valued at 150,000 roubles, was recovered, but the eikon itself had been burnt.

Of the total circulation of 127,578 volumes for the year 1873-74—49,359 were sold by sub-depôts; 31,908 by depôts; 31,023 by correspondents; 9534 by various societies; 3890 by colportage; and 1864 were bestowed gratis.

The new arrangements at Odessa left Mr Melville at greater liberty to resume his journeys, and at the close of 1868 he set out for Tiflis, in the hope of obtaining the sanction of the authorities for the publication of the Georgian New Testament. That project had been stopped by the Crimean War, and the time had not yet come for its realisation. The neutral reply of the Holy Synod arrived so late that the Grand Duke and the nobility had left the Georgian capital. In the interval, however, "F.," the colporteur, opened a depôt in Tiflis, and the work prospered until his recall to St Petersburg. After a short visit to England and a conference with the Committee, Mr Melville returned once more to Tiflis in 1870, but he found no prospect of a satisfactory settlement. It was his last service in the cause of the Society, with which, though never a regular agent, he had been associated for thirty years.[1] Odessa was made an independent agency,[2] the northern boundary of which now included Astrakhan, the Lower Volga Valley, and the governments of Voronej, Orel, Tchernigov, and Volhynia; and Mr Watt, who had acquired the three languages needed for daily intercourse, was appointed agent, at the early age of twenty-four.

One of his first steps was to give the work of the Society a wider publicity. He obtained commodious premises for a depôt opposite to the Cathedral, and displayed the Bible in the open windows. Friends feared the consequences, but Mr Watt had consulted the wishes of the authorities. During his absence, however, on one of his tours, perhaps

[1] He died at Maxwelltown, Dundee, 19th August 1886.

[2] The Odessa Agency is generally dated from 1868. Mr Watt's practical supervision may have begun at that time, but Mr Melville was responsible chief. Mr Watt's name as agent first appears in the Report for 1871; separate accounts began in the Report for 1872.

in Podolia or Bessarabia, the authorities themselves became uneasy and directed the place to be closed. His spirited young wife refused to comply, but promised that her husband should give them complete satisfaction on his return. The moment he reached home he called upon them, referred all questions to St Petersburg by telegram, received a favourable and most courteous answer, and so secured the highest legal authorisation for the depôt.

Within a year or two, three colporteurs were disseminating the Scriptures in Volhynia, Bessarabia, Orel, Voronej, and around Tiflis, now made accessible by a line of railway from Poti on the Black Sea. Sub-depôts too were founded—at Berdiansk on the Sea of Azov, at Kishenev, the chief town of Bessarabia, at Kharkov, famous for its university and its four annual fairs, at Kief, the Holy City of Russia. High on the cliffs above the Dneiper the gilded domes and white campaniles of Kief flashed over leagues of steppe to the immense pine-forests; an ancient church stood on the spot from which Vladimir dragged Perun the Idol at his horse's tail to the sweeping river; in the catacombs hewn in the limestone hills pilgrims by the hundred thousand venerated yearly the mummies of the holy men of old; at the bookstall of the monks in the celebrated cloister the Russ version of the Scriptures was offered for sale.

At the Winter Palace on the 28th January 1874, within a week of their marriage, the Duke of Edinburgh and his bride the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna were presented with a sumptuous copy of the Society's Russ Bible.[1] Another copy was presented to the Czar on his visit to England in the following May, when the Society was represented by the Primate (Dr Tait), the Archbishop of York (Dr Thomson), and the Dean of Westminster; and the memorial of the Committee besought his Majesty's sympathy and interest in their desire that this version might have free course in

[1] Dean Stanley spoke for the deputation.

his dominions. The request was laid by the Czar before the Holy Synod, but in 1876 its sanction to an edition of 20,000 copies was regretfully withheld. This Bible, the first complete version in modern Russ, was in three volumes —the first, a reprint of the Octateuch, translated at the suggestion of Alexander I.; the second, a new translation of the remaining canonical books; the third, the Holy Synod's revised text of the New Testament with marginal references.[1]

One of the most notable facts in these years was the widespread movement for the education and elevation of the people, and the readiness of the working classes to take advantage of it. It had begun before the Emancipation of the Serfs, but the Emancipation had impressed on the authorities the need for its rapid diffusion. Between 1860 and 1862 the Holy Synod had issued about a million primers, in which a section was given to Sacred History. In the Army and Navy privilege and promotion were the rewards of scholarship. Schools were established for all ranks and conditions, and the remarkable growth of Sunday schools suggested a latent connection between the movement itself and the distribution of the Scriptures. Thenceforth, in any case, the two were closely connected. "Alike with German, Russian, and Jew," wrote Mr Watt, "the Word of God is made the class-book in their schools;" and report after report told of the Society's relations with local Government institutions and school committees, and of the co-operation of native organisations, not least among them Colonel Pashkoff's Tract Society—the "Society for the Encouragement of Moral and Religious Reading." In 1850 "literate" Russia represented no more than 2 per cent. of the population; in 1871 the estimate varied from

[1] Besides providing for Russians abroad, the Committee had always desired to be prepared for the day when restrictions should cease. In 1858 a new edition of the Russ Testament was completed, in 1861 an edition of the Octateuch and Psalms; and in 1865 Professor Levisohn began a translation of other books of the Old Testament. On his sudden death in 1869 the work was undertaken by Dr Chwolson, who had been engaged on the version of the Holy Synod: the Octateuch was revised and conformed to the original Hebrew, and the Bible was finished in 1873.

5 per cent. to 9 per cent., but in Finland and the Baltic Provinces the number of non-readers was believed to be a very small minority.

In the summer of 1874 Mr Nicolson crossed the Ural chain into his vast Asiatic territory. He passed through Nijni Novgorod too early for the picturesque concourse of chapmen out of all lands. For a year or two the governor of the Fair had reserved, near his own house, one of the best positions in the market for a Bible-stall, and the privilege was continued until 1883, when a permanent kiosk was erected. A voyage of 260 miles down the Volga took him to Kazan. The oldest steamer company on the river[1] had granted the Kazan depositary a free pass for his journeys, and that privilege too was renewed throughout the period. On that highway of 2000 miles from Tver and Yaroslav to the Caspian the colporteur met with people of every race, creed, and calling.

This was the region of the Finn and Tartar tribes. At Kazan Mr Nicolson met M. Jacobleff, a Chuvash (afterwards inspector of Chuvash schools at Simbirsk), who in his desire to provide books for his people had translated St Matthew. He was asked to proceed with this undertaking; and the Four Gospels in Chuvash were ready for the press in 1878, when their publication was opposed by an important official, and eighteen years elapsed before they saw the light. Another translator, Professor Ilminski, had completed a version of St Matthew in Kazan-Tartar, and he too was commissioned to undertake the four Gospels. His progress, however, was so slow that Mr Saleman of the Imperial Library, St Petersburg, began an independent translation, and his St Matthew appeared in 1884.

Ascending the noble Kama River, Nicolson reached the busy iron town of Perm; arranged for a small depôt with a bookseller commended by the Governor; and travelling

[1] The Volga Steam Navigation Co. (1843). Many of the shareholders were English.

250 miles by tarantass, passed the obelisk marked on one side "Russia," on the other "Asia," and arrived at Ekaterinburg, and his problem—Siberia. Friends on the spot advised him that an independent depôt—at Tomsk, for instance, the commercial capital—was not desirable; the trade of the country was mostly done at the large fairs, and all that was needed was a head-colporteur with an assistant to travel to these shifting centres. But colporteurs were not to be found in a day. Meanwhile in Tomsk and Ekaterinburg stocks of Scripture were held on commission by booksellers; small depôts were opened at Nikolaevsk and Vladivostock by two friendly Americans; Colonel Pashkoff sent supplies to one of his Tract Society colporteurs at Irkutsk, and communication was opened with the Russian missionaries in that town, especially in regard to the Buriat Scriptures. In 1876 the distinguished philologist, Antoine Schiefner, undertook a new edition of the Mongol Testament, translated by Swan and Stallybrass at Selenginsk more than thirty years before. The book was printing at the Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg, when he died in November 1879, but the work was resumed by M. Pozdnaieff, Professor of Mongolian in the University, and finished and authorised in 1880. A few months before Schiefner's death an English traveller visited all that remained of the Selenginsk mission-station—the garden, and within it the walled enclosure containing the graves of Mrs Yuille, Mrs Stallybrass,[1] and three children.

It was the Rev. Henry Lansdell, who in that year crossed Siberia from Ekaterinburg to Vladivostock. Three thousand volumes of Scripture, placed at his disposal by the Committee, and 3360 more by friends at St Petersburg, were for the most part put in charge of Governors, officials, and private persons, for the benefit of schools, hospitals, prisons,

[1] Mr Stallybrass was still alive. He died at Shooter's Hill, July 1884, aged ninety-one.

and the convoys of exiles, of whom from seventeen to twenty thousand were drafted yearly into the "penal continent."[1] At that date and later several thousands of copies were distributed regularly among them by devout ladies—Miss Kernig, Madame Strekaloff, Princess Lieven — before the chained droves left Moscow for the frontier; and at Odessa, when the Government adopted the more humane method of transporting convicts to Saghalien by sea, the Word of God was provided there for their comfort and hope.

In 1880 two colporteurs travelled along the eastern verge of the Urals, and two years later a couple of others reached as far east as Tinkalinsk, 90 miles from Omsk. For some time, however, it had been evident that the enormous tracts of Siberia could not be effectively worked from a European centre, and the Committee were considering the means of founding an agency for Central Asia, when Baron Henrik Wrede, son of the Governor of Vasa, was introduced to them as a devoted young man, who had gained some experience in the depôt at Helsingfors. He was eager for the undertaking; Irkutsk, the selected post, was reached in September 1883, and shortly afterwards a depôt was opened with the sanction of the authorities. In another direction work for Siberia had made progress. A Wogul translation of Matthew and Mark by Augustus Ahlqvist—in his time the best loved lyric poet of the Finns—had just been printed at Helsingfors for the tribes east of the Urals, between Ekaterinburg and the Arctic Ocean.

Returning to the centre of affairs, we note the chief incidents among the crowded details of the Northern Agency.

In the summer of 1875 Mr Nicolson visited Christiania and Stockholm to find means of providing for the Russ Laplanders — some 4000 or 5000 people — who had no

[1] *See* Lansdell, *Through Siberia*. A second journey to Tobolsk, Semipalatinsk, and Kuldja, and home through Turkestan and the Caspian, was made in 1882. Nearly 5000 copies in a dozen languages were similarly distributed. The Committee bore the cost of transport, and contributed £200 towards travelling expenses.

Scriptures in their own tongue. The adaptation of the versions published for the Norwegian and Swedish Lapps proved impracticable, and the Gospel of St Matthew, translated by a graduate of Helsingfors, was examined by Lönnrot, the compiler of the *Kalevala*, and issued in Cyrillic characters in 1878.

In 1876 the Russian people were deeply agitated by the oppression of their Slav fellow-Christians in the Balkan provinces. War against Turkey was declared in the following year, and the exertions of four of the Society's agencies during that momentous struggle have been described in an earlier chapter.

At the extreme point of the promontory of Courland, the Livs overlooked the Gulf of Riga. Once a numerous people, they numbered now but 5000, mostly stalwart sailors and fisher-folk, who still clung to their ancient tongue. The agent travelled among them in 1878, and in the hope of attracting them to the Bible in Lettish—the language of their neighbours—the Liv translation of St Matthew, prepared for Prince Lucien Bonaparte,[1] was printed in the Gothic characters used in Lett books, and distributed in 1880.

In 1879 a new edition of the Kirghiz-Tartar Testament, slightly revised by Professor Gottwald, left the University press at Kazan. The language prevailed over an immense area. It was spoken by the Inner Tartar Horde on the steppe between the Volga and Ural, by the nomads who roamed with their sheep and camels over half a million square miles between the Caspian and Lake Balkash, by the highlanders of the Altai and the Thian Shan Mountains.[2]

[1] Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte (born 1st January 1813, died 3rd November 1891); an ardent philologist—the Old Mortality of decaying forms of speech. For many years he devoted his means to the translation of parts of the Bible into 133 European languages and dialects, and on one of his visits to the Bible House Library generously presented his whole series of versions to the Society, with authority to revise and publish them as it might see fit.

[2] This Kirghiz-Tartar New Testament was an adaptation, by the Rev. Charles Fraser (of the Scottish Mission at Orenburg), of Brunton's Karass-Turki translation.—*See* vol. i. p. 180.

Three times in 1879 was the Czar preserved from the plots of the Nihilists,[1] and in 1880 the Committee, moved with horror at crimes which outraged humanity, marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign (2nd March) by the presentation of an address of sympathy and congratulation.

In the same year thoughts were again turned to the blind (numbering from 160,000 to 200,000 souls), to the Finnish tribes in the Viatka and Kama regions, and to the Kalmuks on the steppe between Sarepta and the Caucasus. The Russ Gospel of St John and the Sermon on the Mount in Moon's type were ordered, and the latter was ready in 1883.[2] St Matthew in Perm (another of Prince Lucien's versions) was in the press, and St Matthew in Syrjen and in Wotjak were in course of revision and transcription into Russ character from the versions of the old Russian Bible Society. The first two were published in 1882, the third in 1883. A Kalmuk version was in preparation by Professor Pozdnaieff and Archpriest Smirnoff of the Orthodox Mission at Astrakhan, and as the period closed new type was being cast for an edition of the four Gospels.

On the 13th March 1881 Alexander II. was assassinated, and the Committee recorded their deep regret at the loss of a gracious patron and an enlightened and benevolent sovereign.

The following year was marked by a memorable concession. The Holy Synod sanctioned the circulation of the Russ Bible in four divisions, agreed to the exclusion of the Apocrypha and the Septuagint readings in the canonical books, and printed an edition of 20,000 copies for the Society.

[1] "Nihilism," which designated the spirit of negation and movement of revolt against tradition and convention among the rising generation (University students and "girl-graduates" with cropped hair) of 1860-70, became, under the influence of the French Commune and the *Internationale*, a militant socialism. Six or seven years later, on the arrest and deportation of most of its propagandists, it was abruptly transformed by a small band of desperate revolutionaries into a fanatical and destructive terrorism.—Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars*, vol. i. pp. 197-198; vol. ii. pp. 509-510.

[2] The Gospel of St John in Finn was issued for the blind by the Committee in 1873.

At this time, too, the St Petersburg Committee, who had all along given their help and counsel in the management of affairs, established a savings guarantee fund for the employés of the agency.

In the Volga Valley the work now extended from Saratov in the south to Yaroslav and Rybinsk in the north-west. Descending the Dvina by a steamer conveying a crowd of pilgrims to the holy Solovetsk Monastery in the White Sea, two of the colporteurs reached Archangel in July 1883. This was the agency's "furthest north" in Russia.

By a strange turn of events, it was through the departure of one of these men of the Volga Valley that an unexpected development took place in Asiatic Russia. Johann Bartsch, colporteur and depositary at Saratov, belonged to the Mennonites, a community resembling the Society of Friends, who in the past had suffered much persecution. Oppression had ceased, but many civil disabilities survived, though it was not chiefly to escape from these that their leaders induced them to leave Russia. Peculiar Messianic views prevailed among them; the day of grace, they believed, had drawn to an end for the countries once within the Roman Empire, and the elect must seek safety outside them, in the East. The Government sanctioned migration, and a large colony went forth to find a Promised Land beyond the deserts of Turkestan. Bartsch resigned his post and, provided with a stock of Scriptures, went forth with them. In January 1882 the caravan of seventy-four waggons was winter-bound by "large deep masses of snow" a month's journey from Tashkent. He had distributed a number of Russian Gospels among the troops which held the chain of forts eastward from the Aral Sea, and had sold his stock of Hebrew Scriptures among the Jews. The Jews, above all, were most interesting to him. "They are Jews of the Lost Ten Tribes," he wrote. "The costume, especially of the women, is the same as that described to us in the Old Testament. They are waiting the

appearance of the Messiah, the resurrection of the dead, and the establishment of the Kingdom of Israel." Chiefly on account of the Jews he again offered the Society his services. They were accepted. With the permit of the authorities Bartsch opened a depôt in Tashkent, within 300 miles of the Chinese frontier, in a land of Szarts, Kirghiz, and Tartars, Hindus, Persians, and Jews. His brother Franz was engaged as assistant and colporteur; freights of Scriptures were despatched to them by the ships of the desert; and in 1883, crossing the steppes in their arba (a high-wheeled, tented cart), they visited Samarkand, Kokand, Margilan, and Osh. The first year's circulation amounted to 3202 copies.

When Dr Wood and the Secretary, the Rev. John Sharp, inspected the Northern Agency in the summer of 1883, they found nine chief depôts planted in the great cities of the Empire, and twelve colporteurs employed for longer or shorter periods in the year, while sub-depôts, booksellers, correspondents, and other societies with colporteurs and Biblewomen of their own, supplemented the work of the main system.[1] The German colonies along the Volga had not wholly escaped the sceptical influences of the time, but the mass of the Russian people bowed down in reverence before the Inspired Word. It was cause for deep regret that the mere question of an alphabet obstructed the Society's labours among nearly two millions of people. The Lithuanian Scriptures were printed both in Latin and Gothic letters, but the use of these was forbidden, and the Lithuanians refused to adopt the Russian alphabet. In ten years only 756 copies had been circulated in Gothic and 183 in Latin type.

An interesting event connected with this visit was the publication of a sixpenny New Testament in Russ—light, convenient in size, and more suited in its type for the scanty

[1] Depôts: St Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Helsingfors, Kazan, Saratov, Samara, Irkutsk, Tashkent. The circulation in 1883 was 245,262 volumes in nearly seventy languages, and the details may be compared with those of 1873-74 (p. 348): chief depôts, 155,710; sub-depôts, 24,090; colporteurs and hawkers, 20,604; correspondents, 19,354; various societies, 7769; free grants, 17,735.

light of the peasant's izba in the long winter. The edition was readily undertaken by the Holy Synod on behalf of the Society, and bore the inscription, "To the Russian People."

Meanwhile, in spite of blighted harvests and acute distress, the work progressed in Southern Russia.

In May 1875 Mr Watt set out for Tiflis, where one of his ablest colporteurs had prepared the way for larger operations. With the assent of the authorities a depôt was opened, and in the course of six months over 4000 volumes were sold. Among the purchasers were a Georgian bishop, a Tartar mollah, Armenians from British India, and Persian Jews from Hamadan. In July Watt crossed the Caucasus and arranged for Scripture stores at Vladikavkaz, at the spa of Pjatigorsk near Karass, at Stavropol, and at Rostov; whence the railway enabled him to run through his northern district, opening depôts at Orel, Kursk, and Voronej, and providing for the colportage of the Volga from Kamyshin to Astrakhan. Completing the wide circuit by way of the Caspian and Daghestan, he reached Tiflis, where a severe attack of fever detained him until March 1876. Rest and change were then needed, and after eight years of unremitting toil he returned to England on a four months' furlough.

At this point we may anticipate a series of details closely interwoven with the events of later years. While in Tiflis Mr Watt met the Rev. Abraham Amirkhanjanz, son of Mirza Ferukh, whose picturesque career has been sketched in an earlier volume.[1] The Mirza's mantle had fallen on his son; a new edition of the Ararat Armenian Testament was needed, and Amirkhanjanz was intrusted with its revision—a re-translation indeed rather than a revision, as

[1] Vol. ii. p. 19. The Mirza died in 1855. After six years' study (1859-65) in the Mission Institute at Basel, Amirkhanjanz went to Constantinople, where, successively, as Armenian pastor, assistant in Church Missionary Society work, and head of an Armenian theological school, he remained till 1873. He was then appointed to Tabriz, but that ground had been preoccupied by the American missionaries, and as no satisfactory arrangements could be made, he left the Basel Society and repaired to Tiflis in 1875.

the Basel missionaries had worked solely from the Ancient Armenian text. The task was completed, together with a translation of the Psalms, in 1879, and in April that year he began a version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. Thirty-six months were allotted for the execution of that weighty enterprise; its conclusion was reported early in 1881, and on the 19th October 1883 the first copies of the Ararat Armenian Bible were received in Tiflis. At his death Mirza Ferukh had left a translation of the New Testament in Azerbijani, the language of the numerous Tartar population of the Caucasus. Amirkhanjanz undertook the revision of it and supplied the Epistle to the Romans, which was missing from his father's manuscript. St Matthew was issued in 1877, and the whole New Testament in 1879; and in 1881 the Pentateuch had been translated and was ready for the censor. Here, too, it may be mentioned that the four Gospels in Georgian (already issued as a diglot with Russ by the Society for the Re-establishment of Christianity in the Caucasus) were printed at Tiflis for the agency in 1876, and large editions of the New Testament and the Psalter appeared in 1879.

The excitement caused by the Turkish atrocities was at its height when Mr Watt resumed his post at Odessa. In January 1877 he initiated an extensive distribution of the Scriptures among the Russian forces massing in Bessarabia, and while the war lasted the resources of the agency were almost entirely devoted to the troops in Turkey and Asia Minor, and to the sick and wounded sent back from the front.

In the summer of 1878 Mr Michael A. Morrison,[1] whose exceptional qualifications had been discerned by Dr William Wright, arrived at Tiflis as superintendent of the district under Mr Watt, with whom he had been some months at

[1] Mr Morrison was born in Belfast, 20th September 1853, and was in London preparing for the Indian Civil Service when he met Dr Wright in 1876.

Odessa; and in September Mr Watt himself undertook a journey which included in its far-reaching issues the annexation of Persia and the linking up of the Mediterranean agencies with the work in India.

Here, for a moment, we must revert to 1869, when the Rev. Robert Bruce — for ten years a missionary in the Panjab—took up his temporary residence at Julfa, and so began a mission in Persia which the Church Missionary Society adopted in 1875. His original purpose at Julfa was to acquire a perfect mastery of the language, and from 1871 he had been engaged in a revision of Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament. A few years later, the Committee communicated with him as to the possibilities of colportage in the dominions of the Shah, and about 1877 they charged themselves with the salary of the munshi who assisted him in his editorial task. Meanwhile an application had been received from the Revs. James Bassett and J. L. Potter of the American Mission, which had laboured since 1834 among the Nestorian Christians at Teheran. A supply of Oriental Scriptures was sent out to them, with a grant of £100 for colportage. In 1877 three young men from the mission school travelled with the Word of God through the Mussulman and Armenian villages southward to Koom and Sultanabad, and Mr Bassett himself made the dangerous venture of a visit to the sacred city of Meshed, 700 miles away on the border of the Turkoman country. In a few days he sold all his books without molestation, received orders for two loads more, and subsequently sent a converted Mussulman to remain there during the year as a Christian teacher. With the help of a Mirza from Meshed he translated the Gospel of St Matthew into Jaghati-Tartar or Tekke-Turkoman, and in 1880 saw it through the press in London.

With one of his tried colporteurs as interpreter, Mr Watt left Tiflis, as we have said, in September 1878. He was cordially welcomed by the American missionaries at

Urumiah, Tabriz, and Teheran, and explained to them that his object was to ascertain the condition of the country, the prospects of Bible-work, and the wishes of the missionaries. At Hamadan and Kermanshah he conversed with a number of Jewish and Armenian converts, and travelling with splendid horses which covered ninety or a hundred miles a day without strain, reached Baghdad, where he met Gabriel the colporteur, sent by the Bombay Auxiliary to work round the head of the Persian Gulf. Returning by way of Koom he found the Bruces at Christmas in the tree-clustered Armenian village of Julfa, nearly three miles south of Ispahan, with their congregation of about one hundred and fifty native Christians, schools, orphanage, and beautiful chapel—"the best I have seen anywhere in Persia." He picked out a Nestorian, Benjamin Badal, for colportage at Tiflis, and a bright Armenian scholar, George Mackertich, to be sent to Odessa for depôt-training. By the middle of January he was in Tiflis once more.

The results of the tour soon became apparent. The directors of the Church Missionary Society agreed that Mr Bruce should represent both themselves and the Bible Society, and in 1880 Persia took its place in the list of foreign agencies. At the same time the Caucasus became an independent agency under Mr Michael Morrison.

That tract of country between the Black Sea, the Persian border, and the Caspian is a land of old-world story. The Caucasus and the snow-peaks of Ararat have their place in the earliest myths and the most ancient records. The chains of Prometheus were riveted to Mount Kazbek; the Argonauts bore away the Fleece of Gold from the plains below the Suram Hills. Within sight of Ararat there is a lonely lake on whose shore was slain Nimrod, the "mighty hunter before the Lord." To-day the land was a hive of races and tribes — Russians, Tartars, Georgians, Mingrelians, Grusians, Imeritians, Lesghians; and such a Babel of languages and

dialects was there that no one man could ever hope to master them all. In Tiflis itself the civilisation and fashions of the West mingled with the colour and squalor of Oriental cities. Each trade had its own street or quarter, and each man carried on his industry in public. Turmoil was incessant. Strings of camels with their Tartar or Kirghiz drivers bore silks or cottons or dried fruit from Persia. A Georgian buffalo-cart creaked along with its huge skins of wine. Mules trotted past laden with charcoal. Cossacks clattered by with despatches. Wild Kurds from Ararat stared at the shops. The population of the country—including the great Kalmuk steppe north of the mountains, for that, too, fell within the agency — might be estimated at 5,000,000; of whom from 17 to 20 per cent., perhaps 1,000,000, could read. With a solitary exception,[1] none of the mountain languages had even an alphabet, and there were primitive clans to whom money was unknown. Of the million readers, probably 300,000 were Muslim, and 700,000 Christian; to wit, Georgians, Armenians, Russians — the numerous Russian military and official class, and the Russian colonies of dissenting sects — "Milk-drinkers" (*Molokàns*), "Sabbatarians" (*Subòtniki*), "Flagellants" (*Khlysti*).

It was a wild, strangely diverse, and deeply interesting field for Bible-work. Christianity had been introduced in the third century, but Christianity had taken the sword and had perished with the sword; and the memory of bygone invasions had rooted among the Armenians a suspicious dread of foreign interference and a fierce intolerance of ecclesiastical innovation. The Georgians, "princes, priests, and people," hailed with delight the new editions of their Scriptures; the mollahs, high and low, watched every movement to reach their people; but the Armenians!—the Bible

[1] The Ossete, "a distinctly Aryan tongue," which the Ossetians themselves called Iranian. The Gospels and Acts had been printed some years before by the Society for the Re-establishment of Christianity in the Caucasus.

colporteur was treated with more humanity by the untamed Lesghians of Daghestan, the Kurds, the Tartars, the Jews, than by his fellow-countrymen, the "faithful" sons of the Katholicos. There was a staff of eight colporteurs, and for a moment we join them in their wanderings.

Here in the region about Erivan is Markar Arutinoff, at one time trudging beside his laden camel, at another travelling with a Persian buffalo-caravan. These are days of famine, but at Kulp "people without much clothing and with no boots are offering all their ready money—often too little—for Scriptures." The whole village wishes to hear the Word of God. Markar puts up for the night at the public meeting-rooms of the villages and loses no chance of declaring the Gospel. "I was received, by Protestants and Georgians alike, as an angel from heaven, and when I left I was accompanied on the road by nearly all, for a long distance." Later he falls in with the mysterious sect of the Yezidis, the so-called Devil-worshippers. "Their Sheikh cannot read or write—indeed reading is deemed a sin amongst them. They dare not utter the word 'Satana.' They give him a more euphonious name—Malaktavus ('the angel with the glory of the peacock');"[1] and he tells of their worship,—a burnt-offering of butter and salt to a bronze peacock which they kissed and carried round to other villages to be kissed and worshipped. One man sells his Gospels in a mosque; another is kindly received at an old Armenian monastery; a third is cruelly beaten by priest, headman, and people in an Armenian village; a fourth, benighted in the hills, nearly perishes in the deep snow. The colporteur seems ubiquitous. He is met on the Black Sea shore, at Kars, on the Persian frontier, at Shusha, the old seat of the Basel Mission, on the beetling cliffs of Gunib

[1] Markar apparently confused the two titles of the Evil Principle, *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, and *Melek el Kout*, the Mighty Angel. Layard (*Nineveh*, vol. i. pp. 298-301) considered the Yezidis more nearly allied to the Sabæans than to any other sect.

(where Shamyl made his last stand), at Krasnovodsk on the eastern side of the Caspian.

In March 1881 Mr Morrison visited Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, and other vilayets to inquire into an alleged dearth of Scriptures beyond the Russian border. Everywhere the American missionaries were frank and kind, but it was clear that, with other duties filling their hands, they had undertaken "nothing really approaching what the Society understood by colportage." Among large populations with 12 to 18 per cent. of readers the average yearly distribution was 249 volumes as the work of four, and 409 as the work of six "colporteurs," while on the northern plateau of Kurdistan and along the great rivers there were, outside the pale of actual missionary effort, 40,000 or 50,000 Yezidis, whose sympathies were Christian [1] and who abhorred Islam.

The journey was cut short by severe attacks of ague and malarial fever; and hastening to Aleppo and the coast, Mr Morrison returned in serious ill-health to England.

Southern Russia was not to remain long in its more compact and manageable form. On the lamented death of Mr Palmer Davies in 1881, Mr Watt was appointed as his successor in Germany. The efficiency of his assistants enabled him to retain charge of his old post until April 1882. Mr Morrison was then transferred to Odessa, with Mr Amirkhanjanz as his second-in-command at Tiflis; and when the period closed the South Russian Agency had expanded beyond even its earlier colossal dimensions. For two of the colporteurs, Stepanoff and Karapetoff, had crossed the Caspian, joined a caravan at Askabad, and traversing for a fortnight the sandy desert round the ancient beds of the Oxus, beheld with enchantment the green trees and fields and watered gardens of Khiva. For a week they had explored the capital of the old Khorasmian Khans, and then

[1] "They hold the Old Testament in great reverence." "Christ, according to them, was also a great Angel, who had taken the form of man. He did not die on the cross, but ascended to heaven."—Layard, *loc. cit.*

proceeded with military passes to Bokhara. At that moment Johann Bartsch, in his tented arba, was at Samarkand, hardly 200 miles away beyond the hills on the east. They sold 319 copies, and brought back news of a land open to the Gospel, in which many could read, old and young. Thus, "from the forests and fens of Volhynia, where Bendzulla worked, to Karapetoff's camping-ground on the banks of the Oxus, it was a long stretch of nearly three thousand miles."

In 1883, for the first time the annual circulation of South Russia exceeded 100,000 copies. For the first time the Russ Bible (in five parts) was in circulation. The first copies of the Ararat-Armenian Bible were received in October. The translation of the Azerbijani Bible was completed, and the American missionaries, giving up a separate version they had begun, joined with Amirkhanjanz in his final revision.

In the autumn Mr J. Bevan Braithwaite and the Rev. Charles E. B. Reed, the Secretary, visited Odessa and Tiflis, and made an appreciative report of all they saw. In the Caucasus the fanatical Armenians had attempted to excite the suspicions of the Government against the Society. The press strongly dissented. Describing the work of the agency, the leading Armenian paper, the *Mishak* ("Workman"), declared that "not even the twelve Apostles could have taken greater trouble or gone through a more severe struggle"; and the Chief of the Civil Administration, General Starolelski, made the encouraging statement: "We know perfectly well that if the Mohammedans become Christians they will be good subjects; and in this our aim and the aim of the Bible Society are the same."[1]

During the period, 1854-84, the entire circulation of the Russian agencies was 4,383,967 copies of Scripture in about

[1] In the five years from 1879-80 there were 80,027 copies of Scripture distributed from Tiflis. In 1883, 1000 Georgian Testaments, signed for by a thousand boys and girls, were given away to the poorer national schools in three provinces.

seventy languages.[1] During its briefer existence as an agency, Odessa (with Tiflis) distributed 1,197,380. In the first fifteen years of the period £257 was spent on colportage; in the second, £16,313. In 1883 over forty men were employed.

The entire expenditure was £336,249. The receipts amounted to £183,863.

The ratio of adult readers in Russia had increased from 2 per cent. in 1850 to 11 per cent. in 1881, and the number of school children had been doubled. In that great change the Society's agencies had taken no insignificant part.

Thus for thirty years the Scriptures were spread in that vast Empire which covers a portion of the globe larger than the face of the moon at the full. The expansion during the period was marvellous. In 1854-55 no more than 6818 copies were issued. By 1873-74 an aggregate of over 1,000,000 had been distributed; the second million was reached in 1877-78; in 1880-81 the number exceeded three and a quarter millions; in 1883-84, as we have seen, the total for the period was, in round numbers, 4,384,000. In the first fifteen years the expenditure was £30,995; in the second, £305,254.

From the formation of the first agency in 1828 nearly four and three quarter millions of copies had been put into circulation.

[1] In addition, 961,495 copies were despatched between 1875 and 1884 to other agencies, and accounted for by them.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LAND OF THE LION AND THE SUN

In 1880 Persia took its place in the list of foreign agencies. The action of the Committee was a timely encouragement to the missionaries, for in that very year they were officially warned that open attempts to spread Christianity would be visited with expulsion from the country. Julfa was meant to be the chief centre of operations, but the first step was to establish a footing at Baghdad. Geographically that romantic city lay well within the Turkish frontier; it was therefore a place of retreat and safety in the event of troubles in Persia. Religiously it was Persian of the Persians—the storied gateway to the holy places of the Shìah creed. Countless caravans of pilgrims from Persia, Russia, India, passed through it yearly to the tomb of Ali at Nejef, the shrine of Hoseyn at Kerbela, near the ruins of Babylon, and the mausoleum of Kazim the seventh Imam. Kerbela was encompassed by a mighty host of the dead, brought from all parts to be laid in its hallowed earth.[1] After an adventurous two months' journey with George Mackertich, who had returned to Julfa, Mr Bruce reached Baghdad. Premises were found for a depôt; the young Armenian was installed; and Benjamin Badal — "mighty in the Scriptures," a preacher in five languages— was sent from Tiflis to join him.

[1] The pilgrims numbered from 60,000 to 100,000 a year. About four thousand of the dead were brought yearly for burial. On his journey to Baghdad Mr Bruce passed a night at a caravanserai where there were four hundred corpses *en route* for Kerbela. The nearer the grave to the mosque, the nearer the dead would be to Hoseyn on the day of resurrection—the higher, too, the price charged by the mollahs.

In June 1881 Mr Bruce landed in England, bringing with him his Persian New Testament, the fruit of ten years' labour. Once more the text was revised, with the assistance of Professor Palmer, whose last work it was before his departure on the political mission which led to his tragic death.[1] An edition of 6000 copies left the press in 1882, and the Dublin University conferred, *honoris causâ*, the degree of D.D. on "the zealous missionary it had given to the East." At the May meeting he described the little persecuted Jewish congregation at Hamadan, which had been led to Christ by the reading of the Scriptures alone, and his intercourse at Shiraz with a dozen Mohammedans, "very anxious to speak to him about the Word of God"; and announced that the Church Missionary Society had arranged to station a missionary at Baghdad in the service of both societies. The Rev. Bernard Maimon, a Jewish convert of Trieste, was the first to fill that post.

In November Dr Bruce returned to Julfa. During his absence his recently appointed colleague, Dr Hoernle, had supervised two colporteurs working in the villages between Ispahan and Burujird; depôts had been opened in several towns; and George Mackertich and Benjamin had made expeditions to Basra and Bushire, the great emporium of the trade with India. Much of Dr Bruce's time was given up to the revision of the Persian Old Testament, and in 1883 Genesis, Exodus, and part of the book of Psalms were completed; but he was able to visit Kumeshah, where for four days he had discussions with the Bâbis,[2] a curious Mohammedan sect who accepted the doctrine of the Trinity and the genuineness of the Scriptures, but believed in

[1] He succeeded in detaching the tribes east of Suez from Arabi during the rebellion, and while employed in other negotiations was murdered, with two English officers, by Bedouin robbers in Wady Sudr, 11th August 1882. His remains were recovered and interred in St Paul's.

[2] Founded by Mirza Ali Muhammad, born in Shiraz, 1820. In 1844 he assumed the title of *Bab*—"the Gate" to the True Way, and was put to death in 1850. Cruel persecution has multiplied the sect, till it now numbers nearly a million adherents.—Wollaston, *The Sword of Islam*, pp. 471-476.

"many incarnations, many suffering Messiahs, one in spirit but differing in form."

In 1883, too, Bishop French of Lahore, on his way to England, travelled with the Baghdad men from Bushire to Julfa,[1] and bore impressive testimony to the reality and efficacy of the Society's work.

When the period closed, six colporteurs were at work—from Bushire to Hamadan (the northern provinces were in charge of the American missionaries); from Baghdad, a month's journey west, to Kerman, a month's journey east, of Ispahan; and the circulation had risen to 7177 copies a year. The expenditure since 1879-80 had been £3132, and the receipts had amounted to £572.

Let us turn, however, from statistics to the living pages of old letters and diaries. "In the desert," on the way to Kerbela, wrote Mr Maimon—"in the desert, where we are at present encamped in tents, on the highway to Babylon and by one of its giant rivers, the Tigris—perhaps (who knows?) on the very same spot where thousands of years ago the Jewish captives hung up their silent harps on the willows, refusing to sing Jehovah's song on a foreign soil, and vowing never to forget Jerusalem—I am now sitting with five who possibly may be direct descendants of those who afterwards refused to return to their own land. These men came to spend the day with me. Had Professor Delitzsch seen the tears that rolled down from their eyes on my reading to them from his translation our Saviour's touching words from Matthew xxiii. 37-38 [*O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets*], I am sure he would feel a thousand times compensated for his labours . . . He has laid his genius at the feet of his great Master, and his Master is using it here in Baghdad."

[1] He confirmed sixty-seven members of the Julfa congregation, and ordained for them a pastor (Armenian) from among themselves—the first Anglican confirmation and ordination in Persia.

Pass from Kerbela to Ispahan and to Benjamin, who has the gift of tongues. Mollah and Syed and Sheikh bluster in vain. "These books contain blasphemies, and must not be sold to Mohammedans." "Aga, you had better buy one of these New Testaments, and see whether it contains blasphemies." "These books must not be sold here; take them to Julfa, and sell them to the Armenians." "Aga Sheikh, these books are sold in every country, and here too they must be sold. We have Armenian books for Julfa; these are printed especially for Mohammedans." "We do not want them." "Aga Sheikh, do not buy them." "Take him to the Naib-ul-Hukumat (the deputy-magistrate)." At the house of the Naib there is mourning for Hoseyn. "They took me in among crowds. I sold a Gospel there." He is forbidden and dismissed, sells again, is again taken before the Sheikh and sent to the Naib until the matter is laid before the Prince; who decides—"Wherever they wish, let them take and sell their books, except in the bazaars of Ispahan." "Very well, your honour, I am now going away on a journey for two months, but, please God, I will return and sell my books here again." So, away to Yezd, where he meets friendly Bâbis, Jews, Guebers (Fire-worshippers); to Shiraz, where he sells 106 copies in two hours; to Fasa, where, "as these were very precious books," he is paid in newly-coined krans, "in order that they might not be bad ones." Then, on to Nehavend, a quaint old town among the mountains on the way to Hamadan—where he is decoyed by the High Priest and horribly bastinadoed. "Did we not tell you last year, Kaffir (Infidel), not to bring these books? Throw him down, and beat him to death!" "When I went and showed my feet to the Governor, he pitied me very much, but told me he could do nothing at all, because the Imam Juma had done it, but advised me to telegraph to my chief. . . . When I think of those who will come after me, and be able to sell the Holy Word freely, I feel very

glad and comforted for this suffering for Christ's sake. The same day I was able, by God's grace and help, to sell eight copies in that bigoted town."

O shade of Henry Martyn, musing under the orange-tree of Shiraz!

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MUTINY—AND AFTER

India was little prepared for the large and enthusiastic projects of which people at home dreamed at the Jubilee. The outlook was for the most part quickset with difficulties, with impossibilities; of which the worst seems now, in the long retrospect, to have been lack of the vision and initiative which distinguish the born Bible agent. The Society, wrote the honorary secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary,[1] was still to regard translation and the supplying of Scriptures to the missionaries as its main work. In Bengal an independent agency was premature, colportage on an extensive scale impracticable. The schoolmaster must first prepare the way for the Bibleman. As for the Bibleman, even among the 4 per cent. of the population who could read, "the living voice" was required "to open the mystery of the Gospel." An experiment, however, was made in colportage, on the principle of sale, and while the liberal grants of the Committee enabled the missionaries to leave the usual waterways for inland excursions, Mr C. Vernieux, an East Indian trader, worked in and around the capital under the direction of the Calcutta Bible Association, and the missionaries at Burdwan and Krishnagar took charge of four Indian Christians. The Bible Association itself distributed some 3000 copies a year through various workers, and forwarded supplies for sale at the military station of Toungoo in Burma, to German ships touching at Rangoon, and among the Armenians at Rangoon and Ava.

[1] The Rev. J. C. Herdman, who had succeeded Mr Macleod Wylie in 1854.

The Bombay Auxiliary counted on the co-operation of friends at the out-stations and the development of missionary tours. The Marathi Bible was placed in native libraries and book-clubs; the Government accepted an offer of English Scriptures for travellers' bungalows. Liberal grants were made to schools, and copies were distributed among the coolies migrating to Mauritius. But a colportage system under central control was pronounced impracticable; the country was not ready for it; it was unsuited to the climate and the vast extent of territory with its tracts of desert. A more favourable impression, however, was produced by direct correspondence with a number of missionaries, and encouraging results were obtained with a few native Christians.

A more sanguine spirit prevailed in the North-West Provinces. In the dearth of men the Agra Auxiliary did its best with chosen converts; and the missionaries, of whom there were now about a hundred, were urged to more frequent excursions with their catechists. No large operations were attempted, but a promising receptivity was shown by the people, among whom there was a noticeable increase in the number of inquirers. Villagers came to obtain the Scriptures and to ask questions regarding the new religion. Near Jabalpur a pundit who read the New Testament with wonder and delight called his neighbours together to hear its glad tidings. Meetings were held nightly; the little company learned to pray; several gave up their idol worship. Then three presented themselves for baptism; the rest were too timid to profess Christ openly.

At Madras the suggestions from home were welcomed in a spirit of unhesitating co-operation. The appointment of two colportage superintendents—one for the Telugu, the other for the Tamil country,—and the organisation of as large a staff of picked men as could be found, were proposed by the Auxiliary and readily sanctioned by the Committee,

who undertook the whole cost of the scheme. In 1856 the work was a-swing, with upwards of a score of Indian converts working under Mr T. Hedger of Trichinopoly as Tamil superintendent.

Besides this, each of the Auxiliaries had its new versions and revisions in progress, and its Jubilee and other editions passing through the press — a matter of nearly twenty languages.

Such was the complexion of affairs when time brought round the annual gathering of the Society on 6th May 1857. "There is nothing novel, or special, in this anniversary," was the remark of Lord Shaftesbury, as he briefly opened the meeting; but at the moment he spoke a number of the Bengal cavalry at Meerut were on trial for insubordination, and Northern India was vibrating with sedition. Four days later the Sepoys fired on their officers and burned down the European quarters, and the Indian Mutiny began.

Few details of those orgies of treachery and massacre need darken these pages. On the 5th July the Rev. J. L. Scott, honorary secretary of the Agra Auxiliary, saw the gallant remnant of Polwhele's eight hundred fall back before the rebels. "On taking refuge in the fort our soldiers raised a feeble cheer, more mournful to our ears than even the groans of the wounded and dying. It was a sad sight we witnessed that evening from our ramparts—our houses in flames, our public buildings, everything that could be burned, and the Bible House with the rest."

For twelve anxious weeks the fort of Agra sheltered one of the motliest of British colonies: men, women, and children of our own race, nuns from the banks of the Loire and Garonne, priests from Rome and Sicily, missionaries from the Ohio and Basel, mingled with tumblers, equestrians, and rope-dancers from Paris, pedlars from America, and some hundreds of loyal Hindus and Mohammedans; in all, 6000 souls. Once more, on the 6th October, the insurgents

marched upon Agra. By the gracious interposition of Providence,[1] Greathed's flying column from Delhi swept in "just an hour before they came." The enemy, taken unawares, was utterly routed, and chased over ten blood-stained miles.

Ten days afterwards, amid rumours of an attack from Gwalior, Mr Scott appealed to the Committee for supplies, for paper, for help to build a new depôt. The old one was "a blackened ruin"; the stock of versions, English and Arabic, Persian, Afghan, Urdu, Hindi, and Sanskrit had vanished. Later advices showed the North-West Provinces clean swept of the Word of God. Everything had been destroyed at Fathipur, Banda, Cawnpore, Fathigarh, Farukhabad, Mainpuri. Printing offices, stocks of paper, books — the new Allahabad edition of 5000 Testaments; 10,000 copies each of Matthew, John, Luke, and the Acts; large quantities of Old Testament portions; all in Hindi, the tongue of the common people — had perished in the wreck; a consignment of 700 English Bibles never reached their destination; and the only money in possession of the Auxiliary was 16,000 rupees, most of which was due to the printers of Agra, Allahabad, and Ludhiana for work done. The Old Testament in Hindustani, the language of the cities and of the Moslem population in the North-West, had been printed at Mirzapur, and escaped with the press and stock of paper in that city; and 1000 Hindi Old Testaments were stored in the depôt of the Calcutta Auxiliary at Monghyr, though for long Monghyr itself was not free from danger, and Mr Smith, the depositary, was one of about forty Europeans on whose nightly vigilance the safety of the station depended.

But even from this widespread destruction more good

[1] To those who passed through the Mutiny this was no figure of speech. Again and yet again in their extremity men saw the overruling of a Divine Will. "Nothing," said John Lawrence, "but a series of miracles saved us. . . . To Him alone be all the praise!"

assuredly came than will ever be recorded. Copies of Scripture found among the loot of Delhi led to the conversion of a number of men in a regiment of Mazhabi Sikhs —"half Thugs, the rest thieves," as they were described. Books left at the village of Mulliana near Meerut were read by the villagers; day by day they assembled with their children to worship the God of the Covenant; finally they were instructed by a catechist, and built themselves a church. Twenty-five years after the horrors of Cawnpore a missionary fell into talk with a priest in his village temple, who followed, he said, the Matthew *shastra*. The missionary was puzzled till he was shown the Gospel of St Matthew, picked up in Agra when the depôt and printing-press were destroyed. "When I got home here I began to read the book, and found it the best Hitopadesa I had ever seen. I read it to several people, and they all thought it an excellent Book of Good Counsel; so I have remained here ever since, reading it to them. If I find a better, I will follow it." The priest then explained how the *shastra* was read. "First we read the prayer in the sixth chapter. Then we read about half a page anywhere. After that we have some talk about the passage. Then we read the prayer in the sixth chapter again. That is all." Thus from no evangelist but the Evangelist an Indian village had learned to pray as our Lord taught.

In the thick of the Mutiny, when death was expected every hour, a leaf torn from the Word of Life carried assurance of protection to two English ladies and some little children, kept close prisoners at Sitapur. One of the children fell seriously ill, and the guards allowed a native doctor to send in some medicine. It was wrapped in a piece of printed paper, a fragment from the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah:—

"I, even I, am he that comforteth you: who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man which shall be made as grass;

And forgettest the Lord thy maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth ; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy? and where is the fury of the oppressor ?

The captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he shall not die in the pit, nor that . . ."

From the moment they read those words a great trust in "the everlasting arms" drove out all fear of danger until they were rescued.

In response to the first appeals from India large sums of money and supplies of paper and Scriptures in various languages were instantly voted ; but as printing could not be done in India either in the quantities or with the speed required, editions in Hindi and Urdu were undertaken in London, and in 1859 120,000 New Testaments, separate Gospels, and Acts left the press under the editorship of the Revs. R. Cotton Mather, T. Hoernle, and J. F. Ullmann. The liabilities incurred by the Committee in covering losses and starting afresh on a more extensive scale were estimated at £12,000 to £15,000. Up to 31st March 1859 the subscriptions to a special fund for India amounted to no more than £6219, but out of consideration for the appeals from the Missionary Societies, on whose well-being so much depended, the claims of the Bible cause were not urgently pressed.[1]

Throughout these anxious times the Christian public at home noted with joy that the first check to the wild rage of rebellion was given by the great Christian administrator, Sir Henry Lawrence ; the final check, before retribution began, by "the saints" of the "preaching, praying, psalm-singing Baptist," Sir Henry Havelock.[2] Besides these, one gladly remembers now, there were in the North-West Provinces such men as Sir William Muir, in charge of the Intelligence

[1] The fund closed in 1868; total, £7621.

[2] Havelock's Bible, used for many years by himself and his wife, Hannah, daughter of Carey's colleague Marchman, went through all his fortunes, and was bequeathed with his sword to his son, Sir Henry Havelock-Allen, afterwards killed on the Indian frontier.

Service at Agra; Major-General Hutchinson, then one of the young engineers who defended the residency of Lucknow and took part in the capture of the city; C. B. Leupolt of the Church Missionary Society, who, when supplies ran short at Benares, rode fearlessly into the country and got the peasants to bring in their corn and cattle; Bishop Cowie, at that time an army chaplain, who marched with Sir Colin Campbell to Lucknow,—all of whose names were afterwards closely connected with the Society.[1]

The Indian Mutiny brought the beginning of a new day for Christianity in the East. The Churches were aroused to the need of a more strenuous evangelisation. The British Government awakened to a new sense of its responsibility as the Christian overlord of a continent which included many countries, kingdoms, languages, creeds. The charge of Lord Ellenborough, that Canning's support of missions was the cause of the outbreak, was indignantly repudiated by Indian gentlemen of the highest standing at a meeting in Calcutta.[2] At home it was pointed out that the region of this rebellion was not the Presidency of Madras, where for many years the Bible had been drawing the natives into Christian communion, nor that of Bombay, where the Scriptures had been freely circulated and large numbers of Sepoys had attended Bible classes, but "the Brahminical Presidency of Bengal," where caste was encouraged, where the missionary "was forbidden to show his face within the limits of the space allotted to the troops," and even the chaplain was debarred from giving instruction to the natives in the Word of God. "European history," said one Indian

[1] Sir W. Muir, author of *The Life of Mahomet*, *The Caliphate*, etc., Vice-President from 1881, died in July 1905. General Hutchinson, a member of the Committee from 1890, died in December 1899. Bishop Cowie, Vice-President from 1872, died in July 1902, a few days after resigning the Bishopric of Auckland and the Primacy of New Zealand. Mr Leupolt, who was a favourite volunteer in the Norfolk District, died in 1884.

[2] The Governor-General had aided education in some of the mission schools, and in 1856 had subscribed £25 to the Bible Society in furtherance of linguistic work; to missions, as such, he had not subscribed.—Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. ii. p. 223.

speaker, "does not bear on its record the mention of a class of men who suffered so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity and education as the Christian missionaries in India." "The people know the Government is a Christian one," wrote a distinguished Hindu man of science; "let it act openly as a true Christian; the people will never feel themselves disappointed, they will only admire it." Most significant perhaps of all, though it was believed in Northern India that British rule was at an end and that the Christian religion had perished with it, a great many of the people carefully preserved their Scriptures and read them.

On the 1st November 1858 the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria, published by Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, placed the Government of India on a basis at once Christian and tolerant. "Firmly relying on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." Conversion was no longer to be penalised. Posts under the Crown were thrown open to all qualified subjects, irrespective of creed or class. Christian officials were at liberty to avow their faith and openly to impart its truth to others. The Christian world was no longer to be refused a day of humiliation while Government offices were closed for the festival of the blood-thirsty goddess Kali.

Before passing from these tragic provinces, we note that the North India Auxiliary was transferred with the seat of Government from Agra to Allahabad. All hearts were uplifted with the sense of a wonderful deliverance, and work was resumed in the vivid consciousness of a divine commission. In the bazaars, at the swarming melas, in the school villages—among Hindus, Sikhs, and Mohammedans—there was such a demand for the Scriptures as had never

been seen before. In 1860 the North India Auxiliary was in a position to send home £1000 in grateful acknowledgment of the large editions which the Society had provided with such prompt liberality.

Branch depôts were opened in quick succession at Benares, Lucknow, Agrà, Shajehanpur, Aligarh, Delhi, Meerut, Lahore. By means of a large subsidy from the Committee colportage was taken up systematically in 1862,[1] and two years later thirty-three earnest Indian Christians were spreading the Word of God over the whole district in which the Mutiny had raged with such malignant ferocity. The principle of sale was adopted, with the usual temporary fall and subsequent stable increase of circulation; and though the missionaries were left a free hand, they were reminded that colportage was frustrated wherever gratis distribution prevailed.

In 1863 the Hon. E. Drummond, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, accepted the position of patron of the Auxiliary, and identified himself with the cause by sanctioning the introduction of the Scriptures into colleges and schools through the Ministry of Public Instruction. It was a red-letter year. In January an Auxiliary for the Panjab, which originated in a proposal at the missionary conference, was founded at Lahore, with the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir R. Montgomery, as patron, Mr D. F. M'Leod, C.B., as president, and Mr A. Thomson as secretary. Its depôt was equipped with a stock of Panjabi and Pashtu Scriptures from the North India Auxiliary; an Urdu Testament in Persian character was in its own press; it awaited the Tibetan version of the Moravian missionaries at Kailang. Already it ranged in spirit through the famous passes by which the merchandise of the West entered Central Asia.

In 1868 the North India Auxiliary held its first public

[1] The cost of two colporteurs was borne with his accustomed generosity by Mr R. Arthington of Leeds.

anniversary with brilliant success. By the end of the year almost every district in the North-West Provinces was included in the scope of its colporteurs. During the interval 1854-68 upwards of 164,300 copies of Scripture had been circulated — 20,800 in the first five years; 50,700 in the second; 92,700 in the third. A new Central Depôt or Bible House, which was shared by the Vernacular Education and the North India Tract Societies, was completed in 1869. The site had been granted, free of ground-rent charges, by the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Muir, who, as member of committee and president, had been one with the Auxiliary from its formation, and who was now its patron. At this point we leave for the present the region of the disastrous uprising.

Happily, the work of the Calcutta Auxiliary was scarcely checked by the Mutiny. For two anxious months colportage was suspended, and in 1858 the circulation reached the lowest point for eight years (25,267 copies), but the most serious effect of the rebellion was the sombre revival of racial antipathy among Hindus and Mohammedans, and a deeper resentment against the religion of a conquering nation. In the hearts of the people themselves, however, there was a feeling of despair which cried to Bibleman and missionary for something their own gods could not give them. "It is true," said a Bairagi at Madhapur, "we find no peace in our gods; our hearts remain in uncertainty." "Our books contradict each other," confessed a pundit at Madhubani, "so our hearts become uneasy; peace is not to be found with our gods; the way of life is not shown in our books." "You are the lords of the country," said a Brahmin, "why then do you keep Jagannath? Does not your rule extend to Puri? Then cast him down, and none will raise him up again." "Shall we indeed overthrow your gods? Will you not rise up against us?" "Nahin, nahin," many answered, "we shall be glad of it." "We do not make Christians by

force," said the missionary, "as also you have heard in the proclamation of our Queen." "Sir, to make Christians is one thing, to ease people of their burden is another; to all of us Jagannath is a great burden." From his village in the jungle ten miles away an ascetic came that he might learn how to pray. Others, like Nicodemus, came at night to ask for books—"We are four who seek the true God." On the roadside was seen a leper who cried aloud, "Hallowed be the name of Jesus Christ!"

In addition to the ordinary circulation, consignments in English were sent for distribution in the military hospitals and among the regiments in the North-West Provinces, while supplies in various European languages were provided for the naval brigades and companies of seamen guarding the stations from which the regular garrisons had been withdrawn.

On the 2nd January 1858, in his eightieth year, died the beloved patron of the Auxiliary, Dr Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, who as minister of St John's, Bedford Row, and Vicar of Islington, had been an enthusiastic supporter of the Society long before he became Bishop and Vice-President. His successor, Bishop Cotton, "the young master in *Tom Brown's School Days*," accepted the same positions in regard to the Society and the Calcutta Auxiliary. Mr Macleod Wylie became president of the latter in 1859 on the retirement of Mr Edward Currie.

The Auxiliary celebrated its jubilee in 1861—an event marked by the publication of the revised Bengali Bible issued for the first time in a single volume. The oldest of the Oriental Bible Societies, Calcutta had issued 1,041,910 copies of Scripture, and its annual average of circulation had risen from 10,000 copies in the first to 32,000 in the second twenty-five years of the half-century.

Owing to pressure of pastoral work—and the pressure was felt on all sides—the Rev. J. C. Herdman resigned

before the end of 1861, and his place as secretary was taken by the Rev. Dr Mullens. In 1864 Mr Macleod Wylie, whose connection with the Auxiliary dated from 1842, left India in broken health, and was succeeded as president by the Hon. G. Loch. In the following year the Rev. J. H. Broadbent succeeded Dr Mullens, who had been called to England to the foreign secretaryship of the London Missionary Society.

As time passed the need for consecrated men became more and still more urgent. Excellent Bible-work was done by the missionaries in their itinerations, and colportage was gradually extending (besides Mr Vernieux, there were seven men busy at Burdwan and Baukura, in Jessore, and at Bogra, new ground beyond the Great Ganges), but outside the mission circuits—not in Bengal alone—lay vast districts which the Committee were eager to enter without adding to missionary burdens or interfering with the operations of the Auxiliaries. Accordingly Colonel Lamb was commissioned as the first of two or three agents who should travel through the Indian Presidencies, confer with the Auxiliary committees, missionaries, and other friends, see for themselves the condition of these unvisited districts, and organise a comprehensive and efficient system of colportage.

Heartily welcomed to Calcutta in the summer of 1864, Colonel Lamb travelled 3000 miles into the North-West, sold some 1200 copies of Scripture in eighty towns and villages, and visited eighteen mission stations in the hope of securing colporteurs. In 1866, though suffering and weak, he added nearly 2000 miles to his journeys. His search extended to Gujarat in the west, and to Kotgarh in the highlands beyond Simla. It was a heart-breaking quest. The Missions could not spare any of their native workers, even for a week or a fortnight. Few of the lower class converts were eligible. Caste prevented the better class from selling even the Word

of God, though with a coolie to carry the books they did not object to distribute them gratis. On the principle of sale, however, the Colonel was inflexible. The broad result of indiscriminate free distribution he described as "a wanton destruction of the Sacred Scriptures," and his views were endorsed by the American Presbyterian missionaries, who decided in conference at Ambala that no more copies should be given away. The Committee allowed the experiment to drop, and the Colonel embarked for England. Long residence in the East had undermined his constitution, and anxiety and disappointment preyed upon his spirits. He fell ill during the voyage, and died at sea.

Another enterprise undertaken about the same time had a more prosperous issue. In 1863 the Committee adopted and extended to the whole of India a scheme proposed by Dr Murdoch of the Vernacular Education Society for offering, with the co-operation of the missionaries, a New Testament to every schoolmaster, and the Gospel of St Luke to every schoolboy who could read, throughout the North-West Provinces. Though the great majority of the missionaries in the area of the Calcutta Auxiliary thought more harm than good would come of the project, and only five gave their assistance, 4232 villages were visited—some where the Word of God had never been seen before, some in which there were neither schools nor readers, a very few in which the gift was refused by the teacher or withheld from the taught, and 3273 Testaments and 14,524 Gospels were distributed at a total cost, including a large edition in Bengali specially printed, of Rs.15,398. The figures for North India and Bombay have not been given, but in Madras at least 3500 copies were circulated, and, a few years later, those who had ridiculed the idea of trusting the Gospel to heathens were rebuked by the baptism of teachers and their Brahmin and Vellalan friends, and the voluntary introduction of the Scriptures as class-books into

Bishop Steere

heathen schools. Even to-day the project may appear fanciful, but it was the inspiration of a moment when the very missionaries seemed to doubt the efficacy of the Written Word without the exposition of the preacher, and when thoughtful Indians were themselves protesting against a system of secular education before which the ancient idolatries were drifting away, while the Government, too punctiliously neutral to teach the principles of a purer faith, left their children exposed to an almost inevitable atheism.[1]

Meanwhile the Calcutta Bible Association had laboured among all races, creeds, and classes. Outside the capital its operations had extended from Dacca to Cawnpore. It had circulated up to 1861 nearly 126,700 copies of Scripture in the tongues of East and West, but latterly difficulties had arisen through decline of revenue. In 1867, the forty-fifth year of its activity, the heavy debt which it had contracted with the Calcutta Auxiliary was cancelled by the amalgamation of the two bodies. Its staff of colporteurs provided the Auxiliary with men for larger undertakings, and in 1868 a happy impulse was given by one of its old members, Lieutenant-Colonel Roxburgh, who placed £2000 in charge of the Parent Society for investment, and arranged for the Calcutta committee to spend the proceeds on colportage in the Presidency. The service was thoroughly reorganised, and during the next thirty-six years the Roxburgh Colportage Fund brought in £3938 towards its maintenance.

At this point midway through the period, we may note that in the course of the fifteen years the Committee despatched to Calcutta 6750 reams of paper and 45,720 copies of Scripture, in various languages but chiefly English,

[1] Happily, the exclusion of the Scriptures from the Government schools prompted many young people to obtain them for themselves. On the suggestion of the Rev. J. Long steps were taken to present the New Testament to every native author and editor in the Bengal Presidency, but nothing further is reported.

and voted subsidies—including £3500 for colportage and £500 for the Murdoch scheme—to the extent of £22,170.

The yearly issues were still considerably below those of the early fifties, but the vital principle of sale had gained ground. Though only 9000 copies were sold in 1866 in a circulation of 39,000, three years later the sales amounted to 17,000 in a circulation of 23,000, and in 1870 the Auxiliary frankly adopted the principle. The circulation dropped below 18,000, but in 1872 it leaped up to 46,000; the tours of the missionaries (European and Indian), which ceased through the failure of the special fund raised in Calcutta, were revived at the expense of the Parent Society; the number of colporteurs was gradually increased to forty-four, and in 1883 the circulation of the year exceeded 53,000 copies—53,059 sales, 91 free grants.

Ten years after the adoption of the Murdoch scheme, the attention of the Auxiliary was turned once more to the young. The Bengal Government was approached, and with the assistance of the Director of Public Instruction not only was the Bible placed in the library of every Government school and college, but vernacular Testaments were distributed for use in all these schools, and an English Bible and Testament were presented to each of the higher and middle-class schools aided by the State. Picture the effect of many of those books scattered over the Presidency! "A day or two afterwards," wrote Dr Bronson of his tour on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, "I came to the celebrated shrine of Hazoo founded by one of the old Assam kings. Multitudes visit the shrine from every quarter. At the foot of the steps leading to the temple I found another Government school. The pundit handed me the Bible, and said that the children and many people read it."

The long-delayed project of a Bible House in Calcutta was at last realised by the Auxiliary in 1875. The Committee, which had voted £1000 towards the cost many years before,

gave £500 more contingent on £1000 being collected locally. As future tenants, the Religious Tract Society undertook one-third of the whole outlay, and the Christian Vernacular Education Society contributed £500. A fund, to which the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, subscribed, was also raised for repairs. The building, situated in Chowringhee Road, was opened with prayer and praise on the 1st May.[1]

It was the year of the Prince of Wales's tour. At Calcutta his Royal Highness was presented with a copy of the Bengali Bible, and at Allahabad with the Hindi and Urdu-Arabic versions. These were noble memorials of a great work, but in the white-robed multitude who, with their native clergy and mission-school children, welcomed him among the cotton-bogs of Maniachi in the name of the 60,000 Christians of Tinnevelly, the Prince had already seen the Bible translated into Indian life.[2] The progress of his Royal Highness brought into sudden relief the fact that the people of the enormous peninsula were "not subject races, but the Queen's subjects"; the distinction was emphasised by the viceregal proclamation of her Majesty at Delhi and the capitals of the Presidencies; and to both events was largely due the unparalleled sympathy with which the English people and the Government of India responded to the cry of the terrible famine of 1876-78. Bengal had been succoured a year or two earlier; for the starving millions in Madras, Mysore, and Bombay upwards of £689,000 was received at the Mansion House, and the ministration, to heathen and Christian alike, of that compassionate aid was a marvellous object-lesson, not only of the benevolence of the British rule but of the difference between the religions of the East and West. "Their demon-gods had deserted them, and Christians had fed them."

[1] In 1878 a legacy enabled the Auxiliary to add a third storey, which was let to the Young Men's Christian Association.

[2] This remarkable meeting with 8000 Madrassi Christians was brought about by the Prince's companion, Sir Bartle Frere.—Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. iii. p. 169.

As the Missionary Societies threw out new settlements, not only was colportage "as the ripple to the pebble," but the languages of strange races were mastered, and fresh translations begun. Santali was the speech of an aboriginal forest-people—twelve dark woolly-haired tribes, numbering about 1,000,000, and scattered among the hills and jungles of Chota Nagpore. They believed in a common Folk-father and Protector, "The Great Mountain," but each village had its priest and its grove of sal-trees, in whose shadowy branches lurked the household spirits. Every household had its own spirit, and all were malign. Hill and forest, too, were haunted by demons and spectres. These Santal villages alternated with those of the Kols, a thick-lipped, black-haired, and darker aboriginal race; worshippers of the dog and the sahajan-tree, warriors of the bow and poisoned arrow, who lived on berries and game. On the initiative of the Indian Government, the Church Missionary Society undertook a mission among these wild tribes in 1857. Santali, with its three numbers, four cases, five voices and moods, and three-and-twenty tenses was reduced to writing, and in 1868 the Gospel of St Matthew was published. The number of readers was still small, but a wonderful eagerness for Biblical instruction stirred the people. The Psalter appeared in 1871; in 1872 three colporteurs were at work among them; and between 1876 and 1880 the three other Gospels and the Acts were issued. The Rev. F. T. Cole and two of his colleagues formed a revision committee, and as one of the linguistic difficulties on which they could not decide was the choice of equivalents for "God" and "the Holy Ghost," the revision of St Matthew which appeared in 1882 read "Cando" and "Sonat" in one half of the edition, and "Isor" and "Dhurm Atma" in the other.

In 1873 the Rev. C. A. Nottrott of the Gossner Mission asked the help of the Committee in preparing a version for the Kols in the Singbhum district of Chota Nagpore. Mundari

was chosen as the most useful dialect, Devanagari as the most suitable character. The Gospel of St Mark appeared in 1876, and in eight years 14,000 copies were printed; Matthew (7500 copies) and John (3000) were published in 1881, and Luke (2000) followed in 1882. Many a Kol village saw the burning of the bundles of tiger-claws, tiger-hair, cock-spurs, rice, tobacco, with which bongas and the ghosts of the forefathers were propitiated. In 1882 the Gossner Mission numbered about 250,000 Christians and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 10,000. "But for fear of being ousted from their lands by the Sikadars," wrote a missionary, "the whole tribe would embrace Christianity in a few years."

When the Baptist Mission entered Orissa in 1822 Carey's Uriya Bible had been awaiting them for seven years. Dr Sutton's version was in their hands in 1844. Now, twenty years later, the Rev. Dr J. Buckley of Cuttack, assisted by the able old native minister Jagoo Roul, was engaged on the third version, or rather, revision of the Old Testament. ("I never regarded it as my duty to make a new translation, but to make what was already good a little better.") Grants were made during its progress. It was a time of ordeal, but once more calamity "wore a precious jewel in its head," for when the famine of 1865-66 swept away three quarters of a million people, the Uriyas saw how 1400 of their orphan children were taken to the warm breast of Christian charity. In 1869 the Committee undertook the cost of various portions as they were ready for the press, and in 1872 the Old Testament was issued for the first time in a single volume. Sutton's edition was in three; the Serampore version in four. On the latest printed page, however, the Uriya character, with its curious up-strokes, recalled the old days of palm-leaf manuscript, when straight strokes would have split the leaf.[1]

The missionaries met with many an encouraging experience

[1] On the initiative of Dr Buckley the Auxiliary supplied English Bibles for the posting-stations in Orissa.

in their journeys. In districts where the Education Department was at work, boys and girls from the vernacular heathen schools trooped to their camp and answered questions in a way that "would have done credit to any Sunday school in England." Further afield they reached villages where no European had been seen before, "and the name of Christ was as strange as if He had never appeared in the world," but old men rejoiced that they had lived to hear of Him who had power on earth to forgive sins, women wept aloud at the thought of their little sons safe in His arms, and the chief cast his idols into the river. A new day was breaking on these old nature-folk. A tribe of 10,000 Juàngs, "Leaf-wearers," had been tempted to clothe their women by the Government providing the cloth; the Khonds, "the Mountaineers," in the steep forest-ranges rising from the coast, had ceased from human sacrifice; they had yet no alphabet, but they, too, were one day to read of Christ in their own tongue.

In 1871 appeared a revised edition of St Luke and the Acts in Nepali; and towards the close of the period the Society assisted the Scottish Mission at Darjeeling to issue Genesis and Exodus, Proverbs, and the Four Gospels. St John, St Matthew, and Genesis–Exodus i.-xx. were published in the seventies for the Lepchas between the Nepalese and Bhutan frontiers. In 1881 the Auxiliary printed 1000 copies of St Luke in the language of a tribe in the jungles of the Rajmahal hills, near Bhagalpur. Maler, "the People," they called themselves, and their speech Malto, "the tongue of the People." It was their first book, and was translated by the Rev. E. Droese of the Church Missionary Society, who had lived nearly a quarter of a century among them. St John was issued the following year. The Four Gospels and Acts in Khasi were issued in 1856, and eagerly purchased. The Rev. T. Jones had not lived to finish his task for the beloved Hill-folk of Cherra, and his colleague,

W. Lewis of the Welsh Mission completed the New Testament which was printed in London in 1871.[1] During the rest of the period the revision of the New Testament and the translation of the Old were in hand. In Assami, the language of the whole population of the Brahmaputra valley, the American Baptist version of the Psalms was issued at Sibsagor in 1863 and again at Calcutta in 1875.

We pass to the great versions of the Auxiliary. In Bengali, one of the dominant languages of Christianity in India, the issues in the thirty years exceeded 702,000 copies.[2] The text of the first single-volume Bible of 1861, which was based on the earlier versions of Yates and Carey, had been revised for the third time by the great Baptist scholar, John Wenger; but the quest for perfection was ended only to begin afresh. In 1874 his fourth revision left the press. His work was literally a labour of love. "The Bible Translation Society supplied all his wants,"—so ran his kindly refusal of the Committee's honorarium of £200—"and he preferred to render any service he could to the Bible Society without remuneration." He died in 1880 at the age of sixty-nine. During fifty-one years of missionary and linguistic activity he not only carried through the press four editions of the Bengali Bible and six of the New Testament, besides many separate portions, but translated most of the sacred volume into Sanskrit and revised the rest. A portable reference New Testament advanced this part of the version towards completeness in 1880.

But there were linguists who thought that even Wenger's achievement fell short of the ideal. An experimental translation of Luke, Mark and Matthew was issued by the Rev. R. P. Greaves of the Church Missionary Society, who died in 1870, the year of publication. In 1882 the

[1] It was while reading the proofs of this Khasi edition that the ex-Editorial Superintendent, Mr Meller, was stricken down with paralysis.—*Ante*, p. 26.

[2] Namely, 7500 Bibles, 4250 Old Testaments, 22,000 New Testaments, and 668,994 separate Gospels and Portions.

Committee provided paper for a tentative edition (2000 copies) of a New Testament by the Rev. C. Bomwetsch, a veteran of the same society. In the following year a committee of missionaries, Indian pastors, and Bengali gentlemen was appointed to prepare "a simple, smooth, and idiomatic translation" of St Matthew into Bengali.

Up to 1859, 70,000 copies—the separate Gospels, the Acts, Genesis–Exodus i.-xx., the Psalms, Isaiah, all of them but St Luke translated by the Rev. S. J. Hill of the London Missionary Society—were published in Mussulman-Bengali for the Mohammedan population in Lower and Eastern Bengal. Was it wise to proceed further in this "corrupt jargon"? The question was answered in a few years by the urgent needs of 20,000,000 of people, to whom the religious terminology of the Hindus was unintelligible. Mr Hill revised his version; a new translation of St Luke by the Rev. J. E. Payne of the London Missionary Society was published in 1876; the books were readily bought at fairs and markets; and up to the end of the period 15,000 Psalters and 12,300 Gospels left the press—a total of 99,300 copies.

A total of 115,000 copies of Genesis-Exodus i.-xx., the separate Gospels, the Acts with or without St Luke, and the Book of Proverbs, in Hindi - Kaithi (the business equivalent of the Devanagari) was printed for the Auxiliary in the course of the thirty years.

Of Wenger's Sanskrit version, completed in 1872, St Luke, Genesis, the Psalms, and Proverbs were issued in the Bengali character up to 1860, and sold by the colporteurs among the pundits of Nadia, the University of Bengal. A Sanskrit-Uriya diglot of the Psalms was also edited for the high-class Brahmins of Chota Nagpore. The Sanskrit text in the Devanagari character, however, was so largely popularised, and Sanskrit was taught in so many of the higher schools of the Presidency, that in 1876 the version in that form

appeared for the first time among the Auxiliary's own publications. The Psalms were quickly followed by Proverbs, and in 1883 the New Testament and editions of the separate Gospels were in the press. The Sanskrit issues numbered 19,000 copies.

The vernacular Scriptures printed for the Auxiliary during the period numbered 1,046,350 copies in fifteen languages.

But for the continuous support of the Society the ever-broadening work outlined in these pages would have been impossible. At no time adequate, the free contributions to the Auxiliary dwindled to £120, "only obtained after considerable trouble," and in 1881 a special grant of £1000 to meet a very large debt for printing was voted by the Committee. Making due allowance for the large percentage of illiteracy and the other difficulties encountered, the condition of colportage was still unsatisfactory. With a staff of thirty-six men, only 32,900 copies were sold in 1879, and 27,599 in 1880. The rules were revised by the light of a Missionary Conference; mission agents were impressed with the duty of selling round about their own stations; the colporteurs were scattered more widely over the Presidency; a search was made for more capable men. The only method of securing efficiency, however, appeared to be the appointment of one or two Europeans to train and supervise the staff. The whole subject of Bible circulation was discussed in the summer of 1882, and the outcome was a request to the Committee for an agent who should take charge of the operations of the Calcutta and North India Auxiliaries.

In the course of the period the Auxiliary circulated 1,123,000 copies of Oriental and European Scriptures. The outlay of the Committee in connection with its work amounted to £41,880, and £7600 of this was spent on colportage in the last fifteen years.

Here, as we break off the story of Calcutta, we recall

some of the distinguished men associated with its labours—its patrons, Bishop Cotton, whom the Ganges bore to an unknown grave; Bishop Milman, who died in harness; his successor, Bishop Johnson; and its sequence of presidents, the Hon. G. Loch, Sir Henry Wylie Norman (one of the Christian soldiers of the Mutiny), Sir William Muir, General Litchfield, all of whom left India; and the Hon. A. Rivers Thompson, who took office as president in 1882.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND BOMBAY

THERE was a happy sequel to add to the record of the North-West Provinces. From 1868 to 1884 the circulation rose from 83,000 in the first five years to 197,000 in the last. The number of colporteurs was on the whole smaller, but experience and careful selection produced a superior class of men, and efficiency secured not only a wider range of travel and an increase of sales, but a considerable reduction of expenses.[1] Missionary tours, which had ceased for a time, were revived. In 1873 a plan was adopted for placing the New Testament—intrusted to the care of a headman or pundit—in every village where such a course seemed advisable.

In 1879 observers were struck with the extent to which non-Christian literature was coloured by Bible thoughts and Bible phrases. That would have been of little moment had the influence gone no deeper. But the Moslem hakim forsook his Koran; the Brahmin snapped the cord of his caste and laid it in the hands of the Christian teacher; the guru taught from a new Shastra. The missionary, exploring strange ground, was surprised to learn that his message was not strange; the little books had found their way to the jungle-village long before him. In one large town the colporteur was invited to a seat in the shops of wealthy merchants, the descendants of Hindus or Moslems who had harried or slain twenty years ago all bearing the name of

[1] In 1882, nevertheless, the cost of colportage was 10d. per copy on the sales.

Christian. There was no question of a Pentecostal awakening, but everywhere, and among all classes, men were being brought to the feet of Christ.

We have seen how the Society printed large quantities of New Testaments and New Testament Portions to replace the Hindi Scriptures destroyed in the pillage of Agra. A fresh edition of the Hindi Old Testament, of which the Committee undertook half the cost, was begun by the Rev. Dr Owen of the American Presbyterian Mission in 1864. The first volume was published in 1866, the second in 1869, and during the progress of the work many thousands of separate Portions were issued. The desire for a more perfect New Testament in this great tongue of the common people was always in evidence, but before effective measures could be taken supplies ran short, and the version of the Rev. J. Parsons (based on the text of Yates and Leslie) was reprinted, with the consent of the Bible Translation Society, in 1874. In 1881 a second edition, together with the separate Gospels, was produced in small type on thin paper—the first step towards a complete Hindi Bible in one volume. This was the text which was to become in time the "standard," but the ablest scholars were still at sixes and sevens, and in 1883 the work of revision was committed to a strong board representing the London, Church, Scottish U.P., American Presbyterian, and American Methodist Episcopal Missions. Meanwhile a heavy debt had been contracted in printing the version, and the Committee voted £1000 to free the Auxiliary from its difficulties.

Another version takes us to Peshawar, the old towered city of legends, where the begging-bowl of the Buddha was once preserved in a costly shrine, and a mile away on the plain grew the colossal pipal-tree, in whose shade Gautama foretold the coming of the great King Kanishka. "The Frontier Town" (Peshawar), Akbar named it long ago. Forty miles west of the bridge of boats over the Indus, it

was still an "outpost of empire"; and there in 1853—one of the heart-stirring episodes in the history of Indian evangelisation—the C.M.S. mission was founded. One of the first needs of the mission was the Bible in Pashtu for the fierce Moslem population, the wild tribesmen of the Khaibar, and the 6,000,000 of people in Afghanistan. Leyden and Carey had long been dead, and oblivion had fallen on their Afghan work.[1] "The Scriptures were supposed never to have been translated into Pashtu, and two or three officers undertook to translate some of the Gospels."

Then, in a flash, the Frontier Commissioner, the heroic Herbert Edwardes, remembered that he had once seen a Pashtu Testament in the hands of a fine old Pathan chief. It had been given him in his youth while selling horses at Hurdwar Fair, and the missionary had charged him to keep it safe from fire and water, for some day it would be of use to him when the English should come to his country. "The day has come," Ali Khan had said, "and here is the book, unharmed by fire or water." It was unrolled from many wrappers—the New Testament, Pashtu in Persian character; printed at the Serampore Mission in 1818.

Application was at once made to Serampore, but not a copy could be found in the Mission library. Then Ali Khan was persuaded to give his precious volume in exchange for a Persian Bible. Captain James provided designs for casting such Pashtu letters as differed from the Persian, and the Auxiliary reprinted 3000 copies of the solitary book which had been so wonderfully preserved "against God's good time."

The Gospel of St Luke was translated by Captain James, and that of St John by Robert Clark, the Church Missionary Society pioneer, and they were in the hands of the Auxiliary when the Agra press was burned down. Meanwhile, how-

[1] *See* vol. i. pp. 278, 284, 293.

ever, a version by Isidore Löwenthal of the American Mission was in progress, and the New Testament was printed in London in 1863, a few months before the strange but gifted translator was shot down by one of his own servants, a fanatical Afghan. It was at this point that the version passed with the Panjabi Scriptures to the care of the new Auxiliary at Lahore.

In Panjabi the Four Gospels and Acts were in circulation, and editions of Genesis, Exodus i.-xx., and the Psalms had been issued, but in 1861 these last were out of print.

Urdu (Hindustani) was another of the versions which suffered in the Mutiny. A revised edition of the Old Testament in Latin character (Urdu-Roman) was printed at Mirzapur in 1855. Together with the New Testament, in course of revision by the Rev. R. Cotton Mather of the London Missionary Society, and completed in 1858, the bulk of these copies were intended to form a complete Bible, and happily they escaped destruction. But of the New Testament in Arabic character (Urdu-Arabic), revised by the Rev. C. T. Hoernle of the Church Missionary Society, and printed at Sikandra, almost the whole edition perished. From one of the few copies saved Hoernle reprinted 20,000 New Testaments and 30,000 Gospels and Acts in London in 1860; and at the same time and place 20,000 Testaments in Urdu-Roman, half of them with the English version in parallel columns, and a corrected reprint of the first complete Urdu Bible (the Benares Version of 1843) were brought out by Dr Cotton Mather.

In 1863 Dr Mather was commissioned by the Auxiliary to take charge of new editions of the Bible in Arabic and Roman characters. After six years' labour the work left the Mirzapur press in 1870, and became "the Church Bible of the Urdu-speaking Christian community." "Next to Henry Martyn," wrote Dr Weitbrecht long afterwards, "no man has

done more for the Urdu Bible than this indefatigable worker."[1]

Last, the Auxiliary published in 1872 the Gospel of St Matthew, and in 1873 that of St Mark, translated by the Rev. J. Dawson of the Free Church of Scotland into a new Bible tongue — Gond, the language of the aboriginal hill-men around Chindwara on the central plateau of India.

These were broadly the lines on which the work of the Society advanced in the North-West Provinces. As the period approached its close more money and more men were needed. In 1882 a scheme was adopted for insuring a regular course of Bible study among the colporteurs and holding a yearly conference for their encouragement. As at Calcutta, however, the time had come when the operations of the Auxiliary outstripped the powers of busy volunteers and required the whole time and energy of a special agent.

The circulation of the North India Auxiliary during the period was upwards of 580,500 copies, and the expenditure of the Society amounted to £25,363, of which £6551 was voted for colportage in the last fifteen years.

Munificently aided by the Committee, the Panjab Auxiliary slowly realised its great projects. The lithographed Urdu-Persian Testament, which it began the moment it was founded, appeared in 1866. The common people could not read the Arabic character, the educated regarded it as out of date; whereas Urdu in Persian script would carry the Word of God into Kashmir and Afghanistan. In 1871 £500 was voted for the publication of the Old Testament (in Portions) in the same style, and in 1874 the Urdu Persian version was completed. A portable reference Bible—the first of its kind in Urdu, and the first of any kind in lithographed Persian character — was issued in 1883 by the Auxiliary and the American Bible Society.

[1] He died in 1877 at Finchley in his sixty-ninth year.

The fine Panjabi scholar, Dr Janvier, died in 1864, but younger hands caught up the fallen torch. The complete Panjabi New Testament by the Rev. J. Newton was printed in Gurmukhi, the Sikh character, in 1868. Large editions of Jonah and Daniel, translated by J. Harvey of the Government school at Amritsar, were issued in 1874, and his version of the Old Testament passed through Newton's hands in 1878 before appearing in separate Portions.

Some progress was made in Pashtu by the C.M.S. missionaries. The Rev. T. P. Hughes completed Genesis and Exodus at Peshawar in 1879; in 1880 he and his colleague, W. Jukes, had the rest of the Pentateuch in hand;[1] and in 1883 a beautiful edition of the Zabúr or Psalter, by the Rev. T. J. Lee Mayer of Bannu, was printed in London under the care of Dr William Wright.

In 1880 the Sermon on the Mount in Kashmiri was issued both in Persian character and the old Sarada of the birch-bark books of the eighth century. It was the work of the Rev. T. R. Wade, who began translating in the seventies at Srinagar, where a medical mission had been started by Dr Elmslie of the Church Missionary Society. Some thousands of Gospels and other Portions appeared shortly afterwards, and were eagerly welcomed by the people, and carried off to their villages by the patients of the Kashmir Hospital. The whole of the New Testament was revised with the help of a Kashmiri catechist and several learned Mohammedans and Hindus, and left the press in 1884.

From the outset the Auxiliary had reckoned the Tibetan version among its undertakings. In 1853 the Moravian pioneers, Heyde and Pagell, had attempted to enter the

[1] The Pentateuch and Historical Books had also been published in Pashtu by the Serampore Mission.

mysterious regions of Tibet. Baffled in Ladakh by the Chinese, they settled at Kailang in Lahoul in 1856, when Heinrich August Jäschke joined them. A wild and beautiful spot under the high everlasting snow-belt of the Himalayas, but keen even in summer, when the hillsides were flushed with wild roses and anemones! Here among their orchard trees and slopes of tillage Jäschke took up the task of translation, while in the Buddhist monastery, perched aloft on sheer rocks, the masked monks in their curious robes danced to the music of big drums and cymbals. What endless search for the right Bible word! Up to 1863, "to condemn," "to judge," "to reconcile," even "death" had not been found with any degree of certainty. "Vision" was unknown. For "the Holy Spirit" he was fain to use the Sanskrit *Abina;* the nearest approach in Tibetan, *Dangma*, etymologically "the pure," applied at its highest to the human soul purified from passion, like water become transparent through perfect stillness.

By the end of 1871, however, the whole of the New Testament, except Mark, Luke, Hebrews, and Revelation, had been lithographed and printed by Heyde—some Portions many times—and distributed among fifty lamaseries and nearly a hundred and eighty villages, in which there were many readers. Some dreaded the witchcraft of foreign books, and gave them back; others used the leaves as medicine in times of sickness; others again kept lamps burning before them, as with their own sacred writings. They were much read in the long Tibetan winter: but when the minds of the people were moved and the question arose, "Can we trust wholly in Christ? Can He in truth save us?" the Lamas began to stir up distrust and hostility.

In 1872 the Auxiliary supplied paper and funds for an edition of Matthew, Mark, and John. Nine years later the Committee took up the work through their agency in

Berlin, where Jäschke, now old and ill, had just carried through the press his Tibetan Dictionary for the Indian Government. In 1881-82 he read the final proofs of the Four Gospels, which had been revised by his colleagues Heyde and F. A. Redslob and a baptized Lama. He hoped to complete the printing of the New Testament, but in September 1883, after much suffering, he died at Herrnhut, at the age of sixty-six. One of the great Moravian scholars; the foremost authority in Tibetan matters, thought Max Müller. The beautiful printed copies were received with delight by the missionaries and their little band of Christians. Their congregation at Kailang numbered twenty-nine persons, wrote Redslob in 1882; that at the out-station of Poo, six: the visible fruit of twenty-eight years of labour! More confident now than ever, they were about to start a new station at Leh, the great mart in Ladakh for the trade from Lhasa, where their books were already known. Their principle, too, was sale. If they were to offer a Tibetan a book for nothing, he would suspect it was a snare to catch him by some secret magic.

In 1883 the Gospel of St Matthew and the Sermon on the Mount translated by Sohan Lal, a native pastor, and revised by Dr J. Hutcheson of the Church of Scotland Medical Mission, were published in the hill dialect of the neighbouring State of Chamba.

For some years the work of distribution in the Panjab seemed well-nigh hopeless. Among the fanatical Moslem population few would buy from the colporteur, few would even take a Gospel as a gift from the missionary. At the first glimpse of St Mark's phrase, "the Son of God," the book was flung back in horror. One notable chief in the Peshawar district, descendant of a famous Afghan leader of other days, would sometimes read aloud two or three chapters of the New Testament. He was the strange and fearless exception.

From the village moulvie to the Ameer himself, the more educated were held in awe by the spirit of Islam. "At Lahore Moslem persecution was as bitter as Roman Catholic."

On the Rev. Robert Clark's acceptance of office as secretary in 1870, the seat of management was fixed at Lahore, and a more regular system was organised. A central depôt, towards which the Committee contributed £350, was established, and branch depôts were gradually opened at various mission stations. A new Bible House, joint property of the Auxiliary and the Panjab Religious Book Society, was inaugurated at a public meeting in 1876. The site was a Government grant through General Maclagan, president of the Auxiliary; plans, estimates, and superintendence of the works were given freely, and an anonymous benefactor bore the cost of the building, which, apart from £500 voted by the Committee, was estimated to exceed £2000.[1]

The staff of colporteurs was strengthened. The Word of God was offered for sale in the bazaars of Peshawar, alive with Persians and Afghans, Usbegs, Panjabis, and Hindus; at Gujarat and Multan; at Amritsar, where, like a living thing, the Granth, the sacred silk-shrouded book of the Sikhs, was fanned in the Golden Temple; at Firozpur and other large towns. Little by little the people began to purchase what they had refused with scorn. Villagers bought for their Sikh guru a Testament he was too poor to buy; a fakir, in his ashes and ochre-coloured robe, taught his chelas from the Gospels; "in one village the other day," wrote a Scottish missionary at Wazirabad, "they almost mobbed me for books." The circulation leaped up from 1268 in 1871 to 12,790 in 1873.

As the work of the Panjab Religious Book Society developed, the Auxiliary staff was reduced. In 1883, when

[1] General Maclagan left India in 1878, and the office of patron was accepted by Bishop French of Lahore.

there were seven Biblemen and thirteen depôts, and the Book Society had thirty-two men in the field, the circulation was 22,077 copies in several European and a dozen Oriental languages.

During Mr Clark's furlough in 1879-80 his place as secretary was taken by the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, who was shortly to render invaluable service in version work.

The Division of Sindh, which the Sindh, Panjab, and Delhi Railway[1] brought into easier contact with Lahore, was detached from Bombay in 1881 and added to the Panjab Auxiliary, whose range now extended from the Valley of Kashmir to the Arabian Sea.

The circulation of the period came to 150,335 copies, and the expenditure of the Society to £10,280.

Whatever the cause may have been, the one Auxiliary in the Bombay Presidency showed little of the buoyant and expansive force which we have seen in the North and East. On its narrower lines, however, much excellent work was accomplished. Advantage was taken of the spread of education, and some years before the Murdoch scheme was proposed the Scriptures in English and the vernacular were placed in the libraries of upwards of four hundred Government schools, and it was a standing rule that wherever the colporteurs went, the New Testament should be presented to every village headman. Unfortunately the nervous and one-sided "impartiality" of the Government was so understood by subordinates that schoolmasters were often the most active in preventing the sale of the Scriptures among their scholars.

Mission stations were supplied, and the Word of God was circulated in the course of the ordinary circuits; but the Bible tours for which the Committee provided ample funds were comparatively rare, and when a special appeal was

[1] The Company generously issued a free pass for a colporteur who worked along the line.

made in 1874 to seventy-nine missionaries and other workers in the Presidency, not a solitary volunteer responded to the call. In addition the Auxiliary was in touch with thirty or forty correspondents scattered over the vast provinces. Among the number was one, the Rev. Dr Narayen Sheshadri, who at the May meeting of 1874 presented in his own person what Henry Martyn called "one of the greatest miracles of grace"—a converted Brahmin. And this Brahmin, a man of the highest caste—villagers knelt and drank the very rain-pools in which he had wet his feet—had been converted from the Pantheism which denied human sin and human responsibility, not by any Christian teacher, but by the Spirit of Truth speaking through the Bible alone. He had founded a Christian village, built schools and churches, and now aided the Auxiliary in directing the men who offered the same Book of books to his fellow-countrymen.

Branch depôts at Belgaum, Poona, Mhow, Surat, Nasik, Malligaum, and Karachi stretched like a chain of outposts through the Presidency; and at Haidarabad (Sindh) a catechist sat day by day in his shop reading the Scriptures and conversing with Hindu and Mohammedan.

The colportage staff, however, was of the smallest—at no time more than nine men, and though many places were visited,[1] the sales were so meagre that in 1872 new rules were drawn up, the standard of qualification was raised, and a demand was laid upon the Churches for the supply of efficient and right-hearted workers.

In the matter of versions, 6000 copies of the new Gujarati Testament (Clarkson & Flower), printed in commemoration of the Jubilee, left the Irish Presbyterian press at Surat in 1857. An edition adapted by the Rev. Dhunjibhoy Nowroji for the use of Parsis appeared in 1860, and in the

[1] Generous gifts from Mr R. Arthington of Leeds and a gentleman connected with the Bengal Revenue Survey carried the work in 1863 into Malwa and Berar. In 1879 a donation of £10 was sent from Canada for Bible circulation in the Indore Agency.

same year was published the revised Old Testament, the separate books of which had passed into circulation as they left the editor's hand. Linguistically nothing further was attempted in Gujarati during the period, but among the various reissues may be noted a large-type Testament which cost 2s. 8d. a copy, and was sold at 6d.

The Jubilee edition of the Marathi Bible appeared in 1855 —a work of such felicity of scholarship, it was thought, that "probably no very material improvements in future editions would be found practicable." In 1861 the Gospel of St John was printed in Latin characters so that English families might read it to their Indian servants.[1] For the masses of the people to whom the Balbodh or Devanagari character was a stumbling-block, editions of the Gospels were issued in Modhi, the popular business script; and in 1864 10,000 New Testaments were printed in that form in London under the editorship of the Rev. J. S. Robertson.[2]

This was the jubilee year of the Auxiliary. Of its founders but few survived, and none were now in India. Its circulation during the half-century had amounted to upwards of 255,000 copies of Scripture.

A school edition of the New Testament in two volumes was undertaken in 1867; and in 1872 an improved edition of the Bible, preceded by issues of the separate books, was completed by the Rev. A. Hazen; and in March 1880 a committee was appointed for a thorough revision of the Marathi Bible.

The Sindhi version was the work of the men of the Church Missionary Society. A translation committee was formed in 1858, with the Rev. A. Burn of Karachi as chief translator, and in the next three years some hundreds of copies of St

[1] Similarly in 1882 the Calcutta Auxiliary printed the Bengali Gospel of St Luke in English type for the use of ladies.

[2] Mr Robertson left Bombay in 1877 without any prospect of returning. He had at that date been seven years president of the Auxiliary, twelve years one of its general secretaries, and twenty-seven years a member of the Marathi Translation Board.

John, Genesis, and St Matthew were published in the Arabic and Gurmukhi character. Luke and Mark gave infinite trouble, but in 1870 the Four Gospels and Acts were printed in London under the eye of the translator. The version, which appeared in parts as these were finished, was continued to 1 Corinthians by the Rev. C. W. Isenberg, and concluded by the Rev. G. Shirt, who proceeded with the Old Testament. Each book was tested by his congregation at Haidarabad, and by the end of the period, when he himself had removed to Quetta and the Sindhi version had been transferred to the Panjab Auxiliary, Genesis and the Psalter were in circulation, and Exodus, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, Isaiah, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Minor Prophets were in manuscript.

In 1866 the Auxiliary supplied paper for 1000 copies of the Gospel of St Luke in Marwari, a variety of Hindi, translated by the Rev. Shoolbred of Rajputana; but nothing further is recorded.

The perception of the vast field — over 20,000,000 of people—and of their own incommensurate operations was keenly felt by the Bombay committee, and in 1873 they resolved to meet once a quarter for prayer alone. "When the people see in *us* a clearer manifestation of Divine Power, then will their hearts be more inclined to study the Gospel." Superficial observers, however, readily accounted for the state of affairs until their hasty criticisms were checked in the Report of 1882: "With all the marvellous growth of its capital"—and Bombay was the most populous city not only in British India, but with the exception of London in the whole British Empire[1]—"the Bombay Presidency has been the most backward of the three in missionary progress, and, as an inevitable consequence, in Bible-work. This unfits it to be taken as a fair sample of what your Society has done and is doing for India, and still more as a proof that your

[1] Population of Bombay, 644,400; Calcutta, 447,600; Madras, 397,500.

Committee deal parsimoniously with the Indian Auxiliaries, and spend 'more attention and money on smaller countries nearer home.'" In point of fact the Bombay Auxiliary never lacked means.

Considering its geographical position, it would have been strange had the Auxiliary never passed beyond its own borders. Here, as elsewhere, war afforded unexpected openings. The Scriptures were supplied to the expedition against Persia in 1856, to the Indian and European troops of the Abyssinian expedition in 1867, to the regiments and batteries which passed through Karachi to the Afghan war. On the renewal of hostilities in Afghanistan 1000 copies of Scripture in various languages were sent from the Panjab to the Rev. G. Maxwell Gordon of Kandahar; but before they had been distributed, the heroic missionary had lost his life during the siege which followed the disaster of Maiwand.[1] On the evacuation, Scriptures from Calcutta awaited the troops withdrawn through the Khaibar to Peshawar. Once again, Bombay and North India united to give a Testament, or at least a Portion, to every soldier embarking for the Egyptian campaign.

The easy access by sea suggested the addition of a new region to the domains of the Society. A suitable man was found for a Bible mission along the Arabian coast; the Committee granted £200; and in February 1861 Mikael Joseph, a native of Baghdad and a convert of the Church of Scotland Mission, set out on his hazardous enterprise. He was away for sixteen months; worked among the Jews and Moslems in Aden, Mocha, and Hodeida; ventured inland to Sana, and even to Mareb, "the city of the Queen of Sheba"; brought away from the latter certain Hamyaritic stone inscriptions which nearly cost him his life among the suspicious Arabs of the hills; made some stay at Jedda, and would have gone

[1] He was shot down while attempting to bring in some wounded soldiers left outside the Kabul gate.

to Mecca had not the British Consul prevented him. His success induced Mr Arthington to plan another tour, and Eleas Rehani visited Muscat, Bunder Abbas, Bushire, and Basra in 1864-65.

The work was continued in 1866, 1870, and 1877. In 1878 the Committee granted Scriptures to the value of £170, and Colporteur Antone Gabriel took up his station at Baghdad. Mr Watt met him there, as we have seen, on his run through Persia, which took its place a year or two later in the list of Asiatic agencies.[1]

Though the work of Bombay was tardy, it was not unfruitful. Speaking with authority as Governor of the Presidency, Sir Bartle Frere told of little communities which through the reading of a single Gospel became centres of belief and light to others. One remote Deccan village, unknown to the missionaries, had abjured idolatry and caste, removed the images from its temples, and adopted a form of Christianity derived from the Scriptures and a few tracts. From colporteur or missionary one heard of the Brahmin who knew the Sermon on the Mount by heart; of the one reader in a village who could recite Gospel after Gospel; of the sahukar and his friends who concealed themselves in a mango tope to read and discuss the book which the jaghirdar had prohibited; of Moslem and Marathi women weeping as they listened to the story of the Saviour's death; of the cultured Indian gentleman, whose profession fell short of his belief—"Whatever the two *savants* Renan and Strauss may say, I for my part, like Cowper's humble cottager, believe that Christ did exist, and did exist for the world's eternal good." Here and there fanaticism was encountered, but the sovereign princes of India were in no way hostile to the spread of Christian truth. In one of his tours Dr Wilson, president of the Auxiliary, placed the Word of God in the hands of the Gaikwar of Baroda,

[1] *Ante*, p. 361.

the Maharajas of Jodhpore and Indore, and the Nawab of Jawara.

It was in 1872, just before his return to Bombay for the last time, that Dr Wilson proposed a scheme—in successful operation in all the Presidencies to this day—for presenting the Bible, in the name of the Society, to every student matriculating at the Bombay University.[1]

The circulation of the Auxiliary during the period amounted to 326,334 copies in thirty-four languages. Until within a year or two of the close it was to a great extent gratuitous. Taking the rupee at 1s. 4d., the sales in the last fifteen years realised £2776 and the free contributions came to £2391. The Parent Society expended £12,870, and in the fifteen years alone furnished the Auxiliary with 26,870 copies of the Scripture, in English mostly, but also in Portuguese, Persian, Armenian, Arabic, and Judæo-Spanish.

At Bombay, as at Calcutta and Allahabad, the period closed with a request for a secretary to take charge of the Bible-work of the Presidency.

[1] This eminent missionary and Orientalist died in 1875. "No missionary in India, not even Duff," writes the historian of the Church Missionary Society (Vol. iii. p. 139), "had wielded a wider or more potent influence. . . . The Government constantly consulted him upon all sorts of matters affecting the life and circumstances of the people." He belonged to the Scottish Free Church Mission, had served forty-six years on the Bombay committee, been president of the Auxiliary for four, and took an active part in Marathi and Gujarati version work.

CHAPTER XXVI

MADRAS AND CEYLON

UNDER systematic control Bible-work in the Madras Presidency sprang into shining pre-eminence. Gratis distribution passed by sharp degrees into circulation by sale; the absurdity of sending colporteurs to find purchasers where the missionaries were only too glad to give away put an end to a practice which was always undesirable and rarely effectual. "Those who are able to read," wrote Mr Hedger, the superintendent of colportage, "are generally able to give a small price for the books." In this respect many parts of the southern Presidency were exceptionally fortunate. In the Madura district there were 30,000 readers—15 per cent. of the population; in Trichinopoly 200,000 or 40 per cent.; while sixty-five in every hundred of the Tinnevelly Christians and seven in every hundred of the heathen population could read.

The whole aspect of Bible-work changed with wonderful rapidity. Between 1857 and 1866 the proportion of free copies fell from 68.8 per cent. to 2.6 per cent.; and the proportion of sales rose from 31.2 per cent. to 97.4 per cent. In 1867 for every 300 copies sold only one was given gratis. The circulation expanded—from 17,000 in 1857 to 59,000 in 1867; the sale returns grew from £17 to £228; the Committee enlarged the grant for colportage from £700 to £1000; the number of colporteurs was increased. In 1867 over sixty men were scattered far and wide over the vast field. They travelled 80,000 miles a year, offered the

Scriptures for sale in 8300 towns and villages, called at 352,000 houses, and came in contact with at least 1,000,000 people.

The Committee had provided funds for the separate organisation of the Telugu-speaking districts, but various considerations had prevented the appointment of a second superintendent. Without waiting for events, however, Mr Hedger extended his operations to the other great language regions of the Presidency. Six men were drafted to the Telugu, three to the Kanarese, and one to the Malayalam countries. Even the Kistna was crossed before the friends at Secunderabad provided two Biblemen and a light bullock-cart to pass from village to village and mela to mela in the dominions of the Nizam. In 1863 he was given an assistant in the Telugu districts, and three years later he resigned and was succeeded by Mr H. Fitzpatrick. The staff was now some sixty strong, and attention was turned to its more perfect organisation on a somewhat reduced scale.

Other departments showed the same buoyant energy. The Auxiliary inaugurated a public anniversary. In India above all countries the spirit of the Bible Society was needed to reconcile the antipathies of caste as it reconciled the differences of creed. The interest of the native churches was stimulated by the circulation of the Jubilee editions. Co-operation was sought to make every congregation a collecting centre in support of the Society. The Biblemen's regular circuits were supplemented by missionary tours. New Branches were formed. In 1869 there were nineteen depôts from which the Scriptures were issued to the colporteurs and supplied to others engaged in the work of evangelisation; Bangalore in the heart of Mysore, Mangalore on the Malabar coast, Secunderabad in the north, South Travancore and Tinnevelly in the south had their own local committees; and the Mission presses at Kotayam, Mangalore, and

Bangalore aided the Auxiliary in producing its Scriptures by the hundred thousand in the great Dravidian tongues.

In the meantime the Auxiliary had heartily concurred in the scheme of Indian Agencies proposed by the Committee, and in 1866, while Colonel Lamb was breaking his heart in a fruitless quest in the North-West Provinces, an organising secretary was appointed in Madras. He had scarcely accepted office, however, before he was summoned to England on private affairs; after a few months' service, his successor, the Rev. Goodeve Mabbs, was similarly recalled; and in 1869 Mr Fitzpatrick was given the combined charge of the work of the agency and the secretariat of the Auxiliary, while a Hindu clergyman, the Rev. Arthur Theophilus of the Church Missionary Society, took his place as director of colportage.

Twelve months later the Auxiliary celebrated its jubilee. The changes of half a century were writ large in the extended range of Missions, in the illuminating effects of education, in the waning prestige of idolatry; and these changes were suffused, as with an ever-deepening colour, by the influence of the Scriptures. Upwards of 2,056,000 copies had been put into circulation, but the bulk of these (1,196,000) represented the work of the last sixteen years. More significant than these figures was the new value set upon the Word of God. In the last twelve years £1300 had been realised by the sale of 300,000 copies; in the ten preceding, the distribution of 200,000 had brought in about £100. Most striking of all was the daily evidence of a new vision and a new hope in the minds and hearts of the people.

In towns and villages alike the Scriptures were bought for class books, and even for prizes, by heathen schoolmasters.[1] The colporteur often found his best market among the throngs at some idolatrous festival. Women pressed round, without rebuke from their husbands, to hear his

[1] Of the successful working of the Murdoch scheme in Madras, notice has already been taken; p. 384.

message. From the pages of the Bible he answered the wistful cry, "I am drawing to the end of days, what can I do to reach the abode of Vishnu? Shall I dig a tank or build a shrine?" Aged men passed into the shadow of death, calling upon Christ. In Bengal the unlettered shepherds had questioned whether the Shepherds of Bethlehem might not have been of their caste and kin, seeing that their own fathers before them came out of the West; so here beside the sea on the Coromandel shore caste appealed to the fisher-folk. Sitting among them upon the sand the missionary read how Peter and James and John were called from mending their nets; he took them through every scene in which the water and the fishermen had place, until he came to the last when in the sunny haze of the morning the divine Figure stood upon the shore; and when Peter girt his fisher coat about him, more than one of these listeners reached down and put on his fisher-cloth. Then they asked for books, and were told that they were not to be given away. "Come back then to us at night," they said, "and we will buy them"; and at sundown each brought a coin and paid for the four "books of the fishermen."

But for the loss of caste with its legal disabilities and social estrangement, people might have read over the door not of one but of many a Brahmin: "Jehovah is the true God, and Him alone do I worship." Occasionally one still heard of hostility, of abuse and stoning; of a dread of the Scriptures as things that contained a magical poison which drove people mad; of books kept under the verandah thatch for fear of malignant spirits; but these survivals only emphasised the progress that had taken place among Hindus and Mohammedans.

Assisted by an advance of £1000 from the Committee the Auxiliary transferred its offices and depôt to the Memorial Hall in 1872.

In June 1875 the Bangalore Branch became an in-

dependent Auxiliary, in direct communication with the Bible House.

In 1875 also Mr Fitzpatrick accepted the incumbency of the English Church at Chudderghaut, and a few months later the Rev. Stephen W. Organe was appointed secretary for Madras, a position which he was to hold, with exceptional capacity and kindliness of heart, for upwards of thirty years.

Of later events—the meeting of the Prince of Wales and the Tinnevelly Christians, the proclamation of the Queen as Empress, the cholera and famine of 1876-78—something has been said in an earlier chapter. The compassion of England in the hour of suffering and death had its sequel in the conversion of 60,000 people in the Madras Presidency, and in the opening of the hearts of thousands more to the spirit of Christianity.

Mr Organe's frequent journeys through his districts brought fresh forces into play. Before the period closed thirty-three Branches, each with its sub-depôt, placed the Auxiliary in touch with the remotest part of the Presidency. From the plantation coolies in the Nilgiri Hills to the shipping in the Madras Roads, from the rajas and zemindars of the Mofussil to the officers of coasting steamers, no effort was spared to promote the work. And far beyond these limits, the Word of God, in Tamil and Telugu, was supplied to the coolies in Burma and the Straits Settlements, in Mauritius, Natal, and the West Indies.

Colportage continued to flourish under the care of Mr Theophilus, while the co-operation of the missionaries added many a heart-stirring incident to the manifestations of the Holy Spirit breathing through the inspired Book. The men, varying in number from fifty-six to forty-one, travelled on an average 65,000 miles year after year, passed through 10,000 or 11,000 towns and villages, and stopped at 200,000 doors. There was scarcely a report that did not speak of a score or two of heathen schools for which the

Gospels were bought by non-Christian teachers; and in more than one village the colporteur was entreated to stay with the people as their guru. From the organisation of the staff in 1857, 971,740 copies were sold, and realised £5388.

Meanwhile the best scholarship was engaged in translation and revision. In Tamil, the only one of the four great Dravidian languages in which the Bible existed before the Bible Society,[1] a tentative "Union version" had appeared in 1850. It failed to reach the ideal, and in 1854 the Committee moved for the preparation of a Bible which would be adopted as the standard version through the Tamil mission-field. The project was delayed by retirement and death, divergence of opinions, and postal difficulties, but in 1857 all the chief Missionary Societies in the Presidency—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the American Board of Missions, and the Scottish Free Church Mission — gave in their adhesion. The text of Fabricius was taken as the working basis; rules were drawn up for the settlement of disputed points; and the Rev. Henry Bower, whose expenses were shared by the Bible Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was appointed chief reviser. The Tamil missionaries of Ceylon alone held aloof.

The revision, examined in instalments, received its *imprimatur* at four conferences of delegates, the first held at Palamcottah in April to June 1861, the last in June to October seven years later. The New Testament, "completed in unbroken harmony," and adopted as the exclusive text by the Madras Auxiliary and the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Dutch Church of North America, was issued in 1864. Genesis, the Psalms, and Proverbs were in circulation in 1866, and the Pentateuch, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon

[1] The New Testament, by Ziegenbalg, published 1714; the Old Testament (Genesis to Ruth by Ziegenbalg) completed by Schultze, 1727; the Bible, by Fabricius, 1782.

passed to the press. By the end of 1867 £4992, of which £3406 was contributed from the Bible House, was spent upon the version. In 1868 the absorbing task of eleven years was finished in conference. "The only day that hung heavily on our spirits was the last, when we felt that our work had come to an end, and that all that remained was to prepare to part."

In the summer of 1871 the new Tamil Bible (5000 copies) was published — a true "Union version," which was the means of removing many misconceptions and alienations among the missionaries themselves, and in which all sections of the Tamil Church met on common ground. After a friendly examination of disputed passages with Mr Bower and Dr Caldwell (afterwards Bishop of Tinnevelly), even the missionaries in Ceylon cordially accepted the version. In recognition of Mr Bower's work Archbishop Tait conferred upon him the degree of D.D.

Between 1869 and 1884, 602,500 copies of the Tamil Scriptures were printed, including 43,000 Bibles and Old Testaments and 52,000 New Testaments—in later years with references and marginal readings, for the preparation of which Dr Bower declined to receive any honorarium.

In the Telugu country colportage was checked in its early stages by the backward condition of the vernacular Scriptures. The Jubilee edition of the Old Testament was issued in 1857, but it was not until 1860 that a revised version of the New (Wardlaw's) was published. Between that date and 1864, however, 6000 New Testaments and 59,000 Gospels passed through the press at Vizagapatam. A Committee on the lines of the Tamil Board, with the Rev. John Hay as chief translator, was appointed at the close of 1865 for the revision of the Old Testament. Various tentative portions were issued and references were prepared, but absence, retirement, and death greatly impeded the undertaking. An interim Bible, in which Genesis – Leviticus, Psalms and Proverbs were

new work and the Four Gospels a revision, was issued in 1881, and received with such eagerness that a second impression was quickly put in hand. The Committee now secured Mr Hay's whole time for the work, and in the hope that all denominations might concur in the circulation of a single version in Telugu and other tongues, it was resolved that thenceforth in passages relative to Baptism alternative renderings should be given in the margin.

The revision of the Malayalam New Testament was completed in 1856, that of the Old in 1859. This was the Bible which Bailey had written on palm-leaves and printed from type of his own casting twenty years ago at Kotayam—a clear and simple version which appealed especially to the south country, the people of the London and Church Missionary Societies and the Syrians. In 1854 had appeared a translation of the New Testament by Hermann Gundert of the Basel Mission, an admirable piece of work, which attracted the educated by its assimilation of every beautiful phase in the Shastras. Measures were taken for harmonising the two versions, with Gundert's text as the working basis; a board of English and German missionaries was appointed, and their first conference was held in July 1871, at the moment the Tamil version was finished. In 1872 delegates were added on behalf of the Syro-Protestant and Syrian Churches and a fresh start was made. Under the genial influence of the Rev. Henry Baker of the Church Mission the work on the New Testament advanced to Hebrews, and various Portions were put into circulation; but after his death in 1877 the linguistic differences of North and South, and the attachment of the Syrian Church to the older version, protracted the completion of the volume until 1880. An edition of 8000 was then printed. Later an interim edition of the Bible was published by the Auxiliary, and the Committee aided the Basel Mission in the production of Gundert's translation of the poetical books of the Old Testament.

Here a word must be added regarding that ancient Syrian community, whose origin is lost in the mists of legend. During twenty years of intrigue, dissension, and ecclesiastical litigation which the Patriarch of Antioch brought upon the Church of Malabar, the Metran, Mar Athanasius Matthew, strove for reform, encouraged the reading of the Scriptures, and used all the apparatus of evangelical work for the good of his people. In the midst of these troubles Travancore became in 1873-74 the scene of a revival which developed other anxieties and dangers. New churches were formed, but out of the unrestrained excitement of the ignorant sprang up a sect of "Six Year Men," who proclaimed "the coming of King Jesus of Nazareth" on the first Sunday in June 1880, adopted from the Apocalypse a wild liturgy of four-and-twenty elders in white raiment, four beasts full of eyes, and other symbolisms, and carried fanaticism to the verge of madness and murder. The turmoil was heightened by the presence of his Holiness Peter III., "chief authority on the Apostolic Throne of Antioch," of whom it is here sufficient to remember that he proscribed the Word of God and rifled a great Churchman's tomb in search of treasure. The worst phases of these disorders passed quickly.[1] Copies of the Malayalam Bible were presented by the Auxiliary to the revival churches. In an allocution to "Our Syro-Chaldaic children in Malabar" Bishop Mellus urged the reading of "the Bible printed and published by the Bible Society," and besought a kindly reception for the colporteur, "who brings you the Bread of Life." An eager interest in the Syriac Scriptures was awakened, and during the latter years of the period the Peshito, a most ancient version, became the newest in demand.

In the fourth great language, Kanarese, the New

[1] The strange and discreditable story of this time is told in Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 304-326.

Testament was published with additional emendations in 1854. A tentative edition of the Old Testament—preceded by separate Portions — appeared in 1860; and in 1865 two editions, one printed at Bangalore, the other at Mangalore, brought to conclusion the labours of the Basel, London, and Wesleyan missionary committee appointed twenty years before, presented a new translation rather than a revision, and gave the whole Bible, with references, in a single quarto volume instead of four bulky octavos.[1]

About this time the harmonious relations between the Madras Auxiliary and its Branch at Bangalore were disturbed by various matters connected with the Kanarese version —the most important being the question of a more convenient edition. Welcome as the new Bible was, its usefulness was minimised by its size, which prevented a wide and rapid circulation. Repeated applications to Madras were set aside on such grounds as the large stock of quartos, the small number of Kanarese Christians, the unnecessary luxury of a portable volume. The Bangalore Society, which probably dated from 1825[2] and had been from 1853 one of the largest contributors to the funds of the Auxiliary, felt that the interests of the Kanarese version were overshadowed by the Tamil and Telugu, and that it would be for the benefit of their own people and of the cause of the Bible Society if a distinct Auxiliary were formed to supply the Kanarese Scriptures.

Accordingly, in June 1875, Bangalore assumed the position of a substantive Auxiliary. The step was approved by the Kanarese Missions. The Parent Society gave its aid

[1] Chief revisers—the Rev. C. Campbell (London Missionary Society), who worked over the Historical Books and Job partly on the basis of the Hands and Reeve version, partly on that of a new translation by G. H. Weigle of the Basel Mission, and the Rev. B. Rice (London Missionary Society), who revised the Prophetical Books wholly on the basis of Weigle.

[2] The first mention of the Bangalore Bible and Tract Association occurs in a Mission report for 1829. In January 1853 the Bible department became a Branch of the Madras Auxiliary, the Book and Tract united with the Bangalore School-book Society.

in stock, paper, and money grants. The Auxiliary took over their own colporteurs, and arranged for missionary tours. With the sanction of the Chief Commissioner, the Word of God was placed in the library of every school in Mysore; and a year or two later the Bangalore committee was intrusted with the administration of the Scripture prize fund raised as a memorial of a distinguished Christian officer, General Dobbs. A portable Kanarese Bible in 8vo was published in 1877, and proved so acceptable that an edition in still more handy form (crown 16mo) left the press as the period closed. From 1875 the Bangalore Auxiliary circulated over 82,000 copies of Scripture, of which some 65,300 were in Kanarese, and 34,000 were sold by about a dozen colporteurs. The Committee's expenditure in connection with this work was £1225.

The Madras language-list contained two other tongues, Dakhani, "the Urdu of the Deccan," and Koi, the speech of a branch of the Gond aborigines who held the central table-land before the Marathas. Except the Gospels, adapted from Henry Martyn's Urdu version, nothing was available in Dakhani until 1858, when Genesis, brought to its final form by Captain F. H. Scott of the Madras Army, was printed in England. The whole of the New Testament, transposed from Urdu by a committee appointed in 1861, was issued in 1867. Death interrupted the work on the Old Testament, but the book of Proverbs, prepared by the Rev. E. Sell of the Church Missionary Society and three military officers, appeared in 1878, and in 1879 the Psalter was published in Arabic character.

In Koi, St Luke and the First Epistle of St John were translated from Telugu by three of the tribe under General Haig of Dummagudem on the Upper Godavari, and the Committee printed them in London for the Madras Auxiliary.

The story of Madras was a remarkable illustration of the methods of Bible-work—of the vital importance of the sale

principle, of the "drill-power" of colportage, and of the value of agency control. From 1820 to 1854 the circulation of the Madras Auxiliary was 860,000. In the next fifteen years it leaped up to 1,136,000. In the fifteen following it was 1,265,000. Between 1854 and 1884 the issues of Calcutta, North India, the Panjab, Bombay, and Bangalore—in a word, of all the other Indian Auxiliaries together — formed an aggregate of 2,262,000 copies. Madras exceeded that with a total of 2,402,000.

The expenditure of the Parent Society on the work of Madras was £82,792; of which £4916 appears to have been spent on the Tamil, and £17,565 on colportage in the last fifteen years.[1]

We pass to the closely related work of Ceylon, a miniature India, in which the linguistic areas were geographically reversed—a Dravidian people speaking Tamil in the north, an Aryan speaking Sinhali in the south, while between them, an older race than either, the Rock Veddahs haunted the caves and tropic forests of the Bintenne, broken country about the base of the mountainous centre of the Island.

Sinhali was the eighth and last of the great Aryan group of Indian Bible languages, and the union committee, drawn together by a more conciliatory spirit from the Colombo missions, had in hand the revision of the version. Little had been done before fresh supplies of Scripture were needed, and an interim edition of the Old Testament, amended by the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist delegates, was published in 1856. The revised New Testament was issued in 1857, and completed a provisional version acceptable to all denominations. The Baptists and Wesleyans adopted it; it was extensively circulated by the Church Mission, and Bishop Chapman became a subscribing member of the Auxiliary. Grants of

[1] The effect of the Auxiliary's publications was seen even in the native book-trade. The *Ramayana*, once sold at 5s., was now published at 1s. 6d., and "favourite little heathen books" were offered at a farthing and a farthing and a half.

£550, binding materials, and 500 reams of paper[1] were voted by the Committee for what it was hoped would be "the standard edition" of the Sinhali Old Testament. Genesis and Exodus, translated in the colloquial style by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly of the Wesleyan Mission, secretary of the Auxiliary and a master of Buddhistic literature, were adopted by the board of delegates in 1861. In 1863, however, a few months after his death, the colloquial style was abandoned as unsuitable; it was decided to adhere to the interim text until a more perfect translation could be obtained; and the appointment of a board of inquiry was the last incident, for over twenty years, in connection with the Sinhali version.

Colombo was one of Fortune's caravanserais, full of new faces. Constant changes in the local committee and among the officials of the Auxiliary left many gaps in its records. From 1858 to 1864 no report was issued. After that it became triennial. In 1865 the annual public meeting was revived by Bishop Claughton; in 1872 his successor Dr Jermyn preached on behalf of the Society. Bibles were presented in the earlier years to newly-married Christian couples and to every household joining in family prayer, and these books were highly prized and sometimes sought from long distances. In 1863 the principle of sale was adopted, and the Scriptures were supplied at half price to vernacular schools. Two depôts were opened in Colombo; two colporteurs, a Sinhalese and a Tamil, were employed in the city and surrounding country; and a special effort was made among the fourteen or fifteen thousand carriers who carted coffee and other merchandise from the interior to the coast. Remittances on purchase account, and editions in Sinhali, grants of Scriptures in other languages, and the Committee's expenditure of £6049 in the thirty years indicated progress of which little note was taken. As the centre of sea-traffic shifted from Point de Galle to the

[1] On appeal to the Home Government Bible Society paper was exempted from duty by Sir George Grey in 1856, and the charges on 1100 reams were refunded by the Customs.

harbour of Colombo, the Auxiliary felt the need of a great depôt to supply seamen from all parts of the world with the Word of God in their mother-tongue, and in 1883, under the energetic influence of Dr Murdoch, a site was acquired for premises to be shared by the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the Christian Vernacular Education Society.

An Auxiliary for Central Ceylon was founded at Kandy, the beautiful mountain City of the Sacred Tooth, in 1855. The Committee promptly gave its encouragement. An edition of 15,000 copies of St John in Sinhali was printed locally; missionaries were supplied for their itinerations, and two Kandyan converts were sent out as colporteurs. Half the population could read. By the end of 1862, 14,100 Sinhali Gospels and 4800 Bibles and Testaments, chiefly in English, had been put into circulation. Ten thousand copies of Genesis, printed partly at the cost of the Auxiliary, appeared in 1865, and branch depôts were opened at Badulla, Gampola, and Nuwara Eliya. In 1869 one heard of the little books in distant places and of villagers abandoning their idols. The secretary left in 1870, old friends left or died, and then, save for the two flickering gleams of an attempted revival, all was blank for over a dozen years; but in 1884, thanks to the initiative of Dr Murdoch, preparations were made for a fresh start.

Meanwhile the single-mindedness and brotherly co-operation of the Jaffna Missions seemed an after-glow of the Early Church itself. The Committee provided funds and ample supplies of Scriptures, and eight Tamil converts began colportage in 1856, under the direction of the American, Wesleyan, and Church Societies. At times they were accompanied by some of the missionaries, with catechists and other native helpers. Bible gatherings were held in connection with the work, and attracted even Roman Catholics and Buddhist priests. The Missions combined for "union"

or "alliance" meetings in the large station churches, in the school bungalows or under the village trees, and afterwards for the "moonlight meetings," between April and August, which became most popular of all. Along the western shore the colporteurs travelled down to Manaar, the last pier of Adam's Bridge; they ranged along the east to Trincomalee and the rice-fields and cocoa-nut plantations of Batticaloa. On the high beetling foreland of Trincomalee, the Rock of God, there still survived the worship of Îswara, "by far the most ancient faith of the Island";[1] and at sunset on Monday and Friday, water and milk were poured out in libation on the rock, to the strains of an immemorial litany; and offerings of flowers, coins, cocoa-nuts, bunches of plantains, and baskets of grain were cast far out into the sea to the Almighty Giver.

In 1864 Tamil Biblewomen were introduced at Nellore, near Jaffna. The movement was adopted by the other Missions, and was assisted by the Committee, and in course of time from twenty to twenty-five were employed.

A slight break in the routine of the Auxiliary was occasioned by changes in the Mission staffs in 1866, but the local committee was strengthened by the inclusion of pastors and laymen from the Tamil Churches in Jaffna, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa, and the work was continued with renewed ardour and stability.

The difficulties connected with the Tamil version—"immeasurably less than we had supposed on both sides of the water"—were happily removed by the judgment and tact of Dr Spaulding of the American Board and the Rev. J. Kilner of the Wesleyan Society; the willingness of he people to pay for the Scriptures led to the discontinuance of free distribution in 1870; and a year later the new Tamil Bible, "the golden link between the Churches of South India and Ceylon," was received with delight, and extensively purchased.

[1] Gordon-Cumming, *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, vol. ii. pp. 143-146.

Once more, in 1873, illness and the death of old friends —among them Dr Spaulding, one of the founders of the Auxiliary and for over fifty years a translator and reviser— checked the steady course of progress. The pause was but momentary, and thenceforward Bible-work proceeded without interruption. Special efforts were made among the pearl-fishers on the northern coasts and the Veddahs near Batticaloa. More liberal support was contributed by the Tamil Christians, in whose gardens it was a common thing to see every tenth palm or fruit-tree devoted to some sacred purpose. Day schools and Sunday schools increased, and with them the demand for the Scriptures both in the vernacular and in English. The Bible or the New Testament was in nearly every Christian home, and notwithstanding the opposition of the worshippers of Siva, hundreds of heathen families possessed a Gospel or Portion, often kept in a nook in the thatch with the family horoscope.

Nearly 55,000 copies of Scripture were circulated by the Jaffna Auxiliary in the thirty years, and the Society's expenditure amounted to £1915.

To sum up the broad results in these vast regions of the East: Between 1854 and 1884 the Auxiliaries in India and Ceylon issued 4,803,000 copies of Scripture. Adding the distribution of earlier years, the aggregate circulation from the beginning stood now at 7,053,000 copies.

The aggregate yearly issues rose from 130,000 in 1854, when the great bulk was given away, to 266,000 in 1883, when free distribution was wholly exceptional. In 1861 there were 36 colporteurs attached to the various Auxiliaries. The number was 187 in 1883, and their sales covered more than half of the year's circulation.

The Society's expenditure in the thirty years amounted to £183,613. In addition, the proceeds of the sales of the Auxiliaries went towards the cost of distribution.[1]

[1] Except in the case of Ceylon, which, however, was granted the same privilege in 1883.

The past showed a more and more assured expansion. The future was flushed with promise. A great development of elementary education was confidently expected as the result of Lord Ripon's Commission of Inquiry, and £3000, over and above the usual subsidies, was voted to furnish the Auxiliaries with ample supplies of Scripture to meet an enlarged demand.

Finally the year 1883 was signalised by a new departure. In connection with the Indian Missions and Zenana Societies the Committee made its first systematic grants—£1152—in support of Biblewomen in the East.

CHAPTER XXVII

IN THE FURTHER EAST

In 1856 the Society came into touch with the work of the American Baptist missionaries in Burma, where "a kind of Messianic hope, based on old traditions, had made ready a fruitful soil for the preaching of the Gospel."[1] Its co-operation was needed for the printing of the Scriptures in the speech of the Karens—"the Barbarians," as the Burmese called the tribes of their highlands. There were three salient dialects. The whole Bible, translated by the Karen pioneer, Jonathan Wade, and Dr Francis Mason of Tungu, had appeared in Sgau, the tongue of the numerous White Karens, who inhabited Pegu and Tenasserim. Two Gospels, by Mason and his colleague D. L. Brayton, had been published in Pwo, which was spoken only along the Tenasserim coast from Mergui to the Sittang River and westward to Bassein. Bghai was the dialect of the watershed between the Sittang and the Salween.

In answer to a request for assistance towards an edition of the Bible in Pwo-Karen, the Committee authorised the outlay of £500 through the Calcutta Auxiliary, but their good-will was apparently rendered ineffectual by the old difficulty of the "Baptism" texts. The way was clear, however, in the case of Dr Mason, and two editions of the Sermon on the Mount (5000 copies), which he had translated into Bghai-Karen, were printed at Rangoon. The little

[1] Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*, p. 278. *See* also vol. ii. p. 123, for the old Pali prophecy.

books were circulated throughout "our fifty Bghai Christian villages," and were eagerly sought for and learned by heart by scores of bright-eyed boys and girls. These were followed by 3000 copies of the Epistle of James and the three Epistles of John in 1858, and by 3000 of Genesis to Exodus i.-xx. in 1859. Then in 1861 appeared in Pwo-Karen the Psalms, Daniel, and Jonah translated by Mr Brayton; and in 1862 an edition of the Psalter (2000 copies) was added to the Bghai version.

It was the year in which Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were included in the Empire of India as British Burma. The Burma Bible and Tract Society, which had just been founded at Rangoon, appealed for help in printing the Sgau-Karen Bible. The local stock had been exhausted; evangelists were unable to obtain copies for their work; schools were suffering; among 6000 communicants at Bassein there were not twenty Bibles. The Committee offered to defray the cost of an edition of 5000 (£2500) if the Society's regulations were observed, and at once voted £500 for the Old Testament Portions. Genesis to Exodus and Proverbs and Psalms were hurried through the press, but with regard to the larger proposal, the "Baptism" controversy evidently proved once more a root of division: the Sgau Bible appeared in 1867, and the Society's name was not included in the imprint. In addition a consignment of Scriptures in the Western languages was sent out for the Europeans of Rangoon, which was now changing from a mere village of the Irawadi delta to a city of palaces; Dr Mason was granted £100 for the purchase of Karen Portions; and in 1867 the Committee provided paper for an edition of Isaiah, transferred from the Sgau into the Pwo dialect.

By this time the schools of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had awakened an eager desire for education. Dr Marks, who had charge of the movement, was sent for in 1869 by the King of Burma to establish

Christian schools in Mandalay. He took with him as a gift from the Bible Society a copy of the Burmese Bible "beautifully covered with gold." The King accepted it with pleasure, built him a school, and sent nine of his sons to it—"nine princes on nine elephants, with eighteen gold umbrellas and four hundred soldiers for escort."[1]

Psalms, Proverbs, and five other books of the Burmese Old Testament were issued between 1870 and 1875 with the imprint of the British and Foreign and the Burma Bible and Tract Societies. In 1876 the Government readily assented to the presentation of the Scriptures to the schools throughout the Province, where, it was ascertained, even the Buddhist priests and teachers would welcome the Bible. As need arose, grants were made to the Seamen's Mission (nine-tenths of the shipping at Rangoon flew foreign flags), supplies were sent for the benefit of the Eurasian population, and cheap school-books were provided for the Karen children. A small depôt was opened for the supply and sale of the Word of God in English; and in the last year of the period £100 was voted for a beginning in colportage, and £200 for the printing of Scripture Portions in accordance with the Society's regulations.

We go down by Penang, and once again enter the great water-gate of the Spice Regions. Singapore, with its pageant of ships, its quays and roads thronged with junks, praus, tramp steamers, merchantmen, liners of East and West, its endless flux and reflux of people—Chinese and Indians, men of Java, Borneo, Celebes, and a hundred isles, is more and more an ideal station for Bible distribution. But things are almost at a standstill for lack of workers. Missionaries are too few and too busy to help.

[1] Some forty years before, during the first Burmese war, Dr Judson, the translator of the version, was barbarously imprisoned by the King's father; his wife lost her reason; their babe died before his eyes while he was bound in the stocks; and the MS. of the New Testament narrowly escaped destruction.

Little or nothing is attempted among the 70,000 Chinamen; no one preaches Christ among the Malays. A veteran from Hong-Kong, a young man from home in his first ardour, offers the Society his services; to-morrow his place knows him no more. Everything is shifting, changing, passing away. Only one man's name runs through the Society's pages for twenty years.

Mr Keasberry's Malay version of the New Testament, in Roman character, left the press in 1853. In 1856 the Arabic edition is ready. In 1856 the word "Malaysia" appears for the first time in the Reports. In 1857 the friends at Singapore succeed in forming a Ladies' Bible and Tract Society. Strange!—not a trace of the Auxiliary of 1837 or of the Ladies' Association "for the whole of the Straits Settlements" seems to linger in any one's memory.

Meanwhile a few Christian young men give what assistance they can in their spare time, and pious storekeepers give away copies to their native customers. Consignments are forwarded to Malacca and Penang, to Java, to Labuan, Sarawak, and Banjarmassin, to Celebes, and even to Ceylon and Shanghai. It is a trial of faith to work on cheerfully in the unsympathetic silence. "No one," writes Keasberry, "has ever yet supplied me with any information regarding the distribution of the Word of God." In a little while fresh editions are needed—Arabic and Roman. Keasberry has them lithographed and printed at the Singapore Mission Press, on which he depends for his livelihood, and his correspondence reaches out to the Cape, "where there are many Malay readers." In 1859 his version of the Old Testament begins to reach the light with the publication of Proverbs.

In 1870 there is a sudden stirring of the waters. Under the fervid influence of Major Malan, the Ladies' Society, which has done its best with a single Malay colporteur, separates its Bible from its Tract Department, and co-

operates in the formation of a new Auxiliary. A strange American enthusiast, on his way round the globe with the Scriptures,[1] shows what wonders may be done by the house-to-house visitation of a stout-hearted Bibleman; but it seems impossible to find in Singapore any hopeful sort of worker.

In spite of illness the Malay Psalter appears locally in 1873, and in the following year the Rev. E. W. King of Meester Cornelis, Batavia, undertakes an adaptation of the New Testament for the Dutch section of the Malays of Sumatra.[2] In 1874 the Committee sent Mr Keasberry a cheque for £100 — a timely recognition of good work bravely done. "For some days before your letter came," he writes, "my wife and I were at a loss what to do to meet the expenses of our children's schooling at Walthamstow." Thank God, that black care is turned into the morning! Isaiah is translated, Leviticus is in progress, and "at the age of sixty-eight, when men expect to close their earthly service," he looks out in clear hopefulness to the great work yet to do. In September 1875 he has reached the Second Book of Kings. A few days later, on the 6th of the month, while he is speaking at the usual prayer-meeting of his Malays, there is a sudden failure of the heart, and the busy life is ended. "Now that he is gone," writes the secretary of the Auxiliary, "there is not one in this peninsula to labour for the Malays, nor is there a Protestant missionary for the multitude of Chinese in this town."[3]

The Bible House was in close touch during these years

[1] W. Paul Bagley, whom we shall meet again in China.

[2] This project was not completed before the departure of Mr King, who left in 1877 on account of bad health. He brought home, however, a Low Malay translation of Exodus by Mr J. L. Martens, and 500 copies were printed.

[3] Benjamin Peach Keasberry arrived in Singapore in 1839. On the withdrawal of the London Mission in 1847 he resigned that he might continue his labours among the Malays.

with the version work in the island tongues of the Netherlands Bible Society and the Dutch and German Missions. In 1858 Hardeland completed the Dyak Bible for the tribes once known as the Head-hunters of Borneo. In 1864 the Committee shared with the Netherlands Mission Union the cost of a translation for the people of Western Java, and in 1877 the whole Sunda New Testament was printed in Holland. In 1853 translation began in the speech of the Battas, tribes of the Sumatra highlands, and the only cannibals in the world known to have an alphabet. Mr R. Arthington paid for the printing of St Luke at Meester Cornelis in 1873. In 1878 St Matthew, and in the following year the New Testament, were published at Elberfeld at the cost of the Society. These, the work of Dr A. Schreiber of the Rhenish Mission, were in Mandailing, the dialect of the more civilised south. In Toba, the northern and more widespread dialect, the Society issued Matthew and John in 1877 and the New Testament in 1878, a new translation by J. L. Nommensen of the same mission.[1] So at last, five and a half centuries after Odoric the Franciscan touched at Sumatra on his way to Cathay, the Word of God came to the Islanders.

For over 1000 miles Sumatra stretches along the Indian Ocean. At sunrise its mountain-shadows sweep out towards the Island of Nias, with its large villages on the southern plains and its northern homesteads perched on high rocks reached by ladders. In Nias the Rev. J. Denninger of the Barmen Mission began to translate in 1865, and nine years later the Committee issued the Gospel of Luke. In 1876 they expected both Mark and Luke in the language of the Island of Bali, but nothing seems to have come of their arrangements.

Off the north-eastern point of Celebes, Tagulandang of the Sangir cluster lies between two volcanoes springing out

[1] In 1859 Genesis, Exodus, Luke, and John in Toba had been published by the Dutch Bible Society.

of the sea. Ships give its currents a wide berth ; no steamers call. At the close of the fifties the Moravian missionary F. Kelling came hither, bought land, and built house and church in the middle of the village on the southern shore, looking out to the volcano Ruang. Finding their power slip away before the influence of the Gospel, the Moslem Rajah and some of his chiefs began to plot against him. Ruang burst into flames in the midst of their intrigues. The people saw from the church, to which they had crowded in their terror, the cone of the volcano blown off into the Strait. A huge wave rolled in to the shore, divided in front of the church, and swept past on either hand with a wild wreckage of fishing craft, huts, and drowning men. Fear quelled the conspiracy. . . . The Sangir New Testament was the work of twenty years. In 1880, when Luke and John were published, the population was put down at 80,000, of whom 10,000 had been baptized. The Gospels were received with joy, and in 1883, when the New Testament was ready for circulation, Mr Kelling forwarded £25 to the Bible House "in heart-felt acknowledgment."

For six years after Mr Keasberry's death the Singapore Auxiliary struggled with the difficulties of the situation. On an average about 1200 copies a year were given away by volunteer distributers, but little else was practicable. In 1880 General Sir Arthur Cotton drew attention to the importance of Singapore as a Bible Society base. Miss Cook, who had made it her field of Christian work for thirty years, pressed upon the Committee the need for organised effort. Lastly, the Auxiliary itself urgently asked for a qualified agent. At that juncture Mr John Haffenden offered his services. Age, character, linguistic knowledge, long residence at Singapore, Swatow, Manila, marked him out for a man who had been called.

Early in 1882 he reached his post as the Society's first agent for Malaysia ; started his staff of colporteurs with one

Chinese and two Tamil converts; made his first excursion —to Java, where he strengthened relations with the Netherlands Society and missionaries, and sold, with the help of his young son, several hundred copies in a tour through the island. By the end of 1883 two sub-depôts had been opened in Penang, one in Larut, three in Java, and two in Singapore; the principle of sale had been established, and the year's circulation was 6879 volumes in twenty languages.

So far as it is possible to trace financial details, the outlay of the Society during the thirty years in connection with the versions and distribution in Malaysia amounted to £4266.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE AGENCIES IN CHINA

In the broad and enthusiastic simplicity of its first conception at least, the Million Testament scheme was never realised. The brilliant prospects of a rapid and unchecked circulation of the Scriptures faded away; the cause was obstructed by the very rebellion which once seemed a mighty engine breaking down the idolatry and arrogant scholasticism of centuries; China indeed was open as it had never been before, but the Chinese heart and intellect were inaccessible.

These disappointments and "hopes removed" were laid before God in prayer. The Testament Fund increased until in the long run it amounted to £52,368; and for twenty years it provided for the Society's entire expenditure in China. The last contributions, which included a small sum from the Toronto Auxiliary and "£2 from children of the Free Church, Dollar, per Mr Wang T'aou," were received in 1870; the final disbursement was made in 1874.

Long before the missionaries lost confidence in the Christian principles of the insurgent chiefs,[1] it had become

[1] As late as 1860 many of the missionaries at Shanghai were convinced, through personal interviews and correspondence, that the Chung Wang ("Sincere King") and Hung Jin, the "Shield King," were as firmly resolved on the overthrow of idolatry and the establishment of Christianity as they were on the destruction of the Manchu dynasty. (Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John*, pp. 124-142.) It was still a question, wrote Mr Muirhead, "as to which of the belligerents offered the most inviting sphere of labour," the Imperialists under the compulsion of Treaty clauses, or the Insurgents who spontaneously offered every facility for missionary enterprise. Even to-day judgment is affected by the grace of early promise and eager hopes; and the Taiping Rebellion, which for fifteen years wasted the richest provinces of China and cost the lives of twenty millions of people, is remembered as "a sad story of high purpose deteriorated by success, and of lofty ideals corrupted by the cruelty, the plunder, and the licence of war."

evident that patient and unremitting work, carried out on the ordinary lines and aided by native effort, was the only condition on which progress was possible. In 1854 a grant of £1000 had been placed at their disposal by the Committee to cover the expenses of colportage. The most northerly of the five ports to which they were restricted by treaty, Shanghai gave access to a densely populated country which, with the exception of the region held by the Insurgents, was open for hundreds of miles in all directions. Among the adventurous pioneers of that time were the gifted men whose names will for ever be associated with the founding of the Church in China — Medhurst, and Edkins and Cobbold of Ningpo, Burns and Lockhart, Muirhead, Burdon (afterwards third Bishop of Victoria), Hudson Taylor, and Griffith John. In the last of his distant excursions, Medhurst travelled 500 miles; seven cities and a number of celebrated monasteries were visited, and everywhere the Gospel was preached and the Word of God distributed without hindrance from the mandarins or annoyance from the people.[1] Shanghai and its suburbs were immense emporiums of native and foreign commerce; innumerable traders were constantly coming and going; half of the over-sea traffic of the empire passed up and down the Wusung River; and many thousands of junks called on their way northward with the imperial grain. Among these busy crowds of people and shipping the Scriptures were distributed; many copies were carried inland to remote places, and in several instances the persons into whose hands they fell came from their distant homes to inquire further into the doctrines of the Sacred Book.

At this point various incidents in the Society's work must be briefly chronicled.

In 1854, it will be remembered, the revised text of the Delegates' Old Testament was issued, and the Chinese Bible

[1] On the 24th January 1857, two days after landing in England, Dr Medhurst, who had been summoned home for the benefit of his health, died at the age of sixty-one, "crowned with forty years of magnificent service."

appeared in 1855 in a single volume at 1s. 6d. On the 23rd June 1856, while a large edition of the New Testament in Mandarin Colloquial was passing through the press, fire broke out on the printing premises of the London Missionary Society,[1] and press material, the historic font of Manchu type from St Petersburg, and Chinese, Mongolian, and Mandarin Scriptures, to the value of £2000, were destroyed. In 1857, for the first time, Chinese converts were sent out alone on a tour of some hundreds of miles, but their arrest and imprisonment showed the necessity of having a European in charge of such expeditions. In the same year Mr Muirhead, who had taken Dr Medhurst's place as secretary of the Shanghai committee, ventured to depart from the custom of gratuitous distribution which had hitherto prevailed in China.

Thus far, although the Scriptures had been given freely to all who were willing to accept them, the average circulation had not much exceeded 31,000 copies a year, or a total of 156,000 from 1854 to the end of 1858. Consequently the arrangements for giving immediate effect to the Million scheme had resulted in large accumulations of stock for which there was yet no adequate method of distribution. In addition to various editions of the Bible, 313,000 copies of the New Testament had been printed at Shanghai, Hong-Kong, Canton, Fu-chau, and Amoy. On the suggestion of the committee at Shanghai, where there were nearly 200,000 volumes in store, printing was suspended, and Mr Alexander Wylie, who had been sent out in 1847 at the Society's expense as manager of the London Missionary Society press, was assigned the task of organising and directing a staff of Chinese Biblemen.

It was a moment of supreme interest and of dangerous contingencies. The hostilities provoked by "the Arrow

[1] The machine-power was supplied by buffaloes, and while these were being "smoked" against mosquitoes, the straw caught fire, and the flames spread to the paper stores.

outrage" at Canton had closed in the Treaty of Tientsin, and the Chinese Government appeared to have abandoned its policy of exclusion, when the whole situation was changed by Admiral Hope's disastrous failure to force a passage for the envoys up the Peiho River. The mandarins took advantage of the defeat to inflame the mob; the missions were charged with kidnapping men for the coolie traders; an attack was made on the chapels in Shanghai; placards incited the people of the towns and villages to kill every foreigner associated with native converts in the spread of Christianity. More serious evils were averted by the surrender of Pekin to the Allies in October 1860, and the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin.

The Treaty of Tientsin marks the turning-point in the history of Bible-work in China. It recognised Christianity, conceded the right to travel, and threw open nine new ports, including Newchwang in Manchuria, and Kiukiang and Hankow on the Yangtse River. In March 1861 Mr Muirhead accompanied the Admiral's expedition up the great river. Where the Han flows into the Yangtse, 600 miles from the sea, one looks down from the Dragon Hill on the crowding of three walled cities—Wuchang, with a population of 800,000, separated by a mile of racing waters from Hankow and Hanyang, which stretch away in vistas of masts and "a huddle of roofs covering more than a million people." It was the most marvellous spectacle even in the swarming life of China, and the Committee were urged to make Hankow the headquarters of an agency which should penetrate the unexplored regions of the empire. That step was not taken, but Mr Griffith John formed a station there in the autumn of 1861, and in after years Hankow, with its corresponding committee, became an important centre of distribution.

Chefoo had already been occupied; mission-work was started at Tientsin, where a corresponding committee was

formed in 1862; and at Pekin Dr Lockhart prepared the way for his colleagues by beginning medical practice. Chinese converts were sent out as colporteurs from Chefoo and Tientsin. One found many copies of the New Testament carried far inland by merchants and sailors from Shanghai; the other was asked in more than one village to stay and teach, was pressed to accept money, and was finally escorted on his way when he departed. In 1862 Mr Edkins visited Pekin, distributed Mongol Portions among the Lamas in the Tartar monasteries, and came in contact with the tribesmen of the desert who followed their khans to the metropolis. He took up his residence there in the following year, and formed yet another corresponding committee. By a happy conjuncture Mr Wylie, who had returned home in 1860 and had been appointed agent for the Society in China,[1] was at that time on his way to the East, travelling through Russia to Omsk, Irkutsk, Kiachta, and the Desert. Mr Edkins set out on the caravan route from Pekin to meet him. With clanking bells in a haze of dust, camel-trains loaded with brick-tea went up to Siberia; and down from Mongolia came shaggy Tartars with flocks of sheep, droves of ponies, endless files of camels bringing furs, salt, wood, and coal. Among the steep, bare hills, showing at intervals an empty tower, a loop of battlements, a pinnacle-temple, a sacred inscription cut in the rock, the cramped Ninkou pass ascended to the Pa-ta-ling Gate in the inner Great Wall of the seventh century. Beyond these were fortified cities and market-towns—Sachung, Paognan, Suen-wha-fu with its 90,000 inhabitants and dense colonies of crows in its avenues of great trees. At Kalgan (Chang-

[1] Son of an oil and colour merchant in Drury Lane, Alexander Wylie was in his thirty-first year when he was introduced to Dr Legge, in 1846, as a suitable man to take charge of the missionary printing establishment at Shanghai. He had long cherished the hope of going out to China, had bought Premare's *Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ*, learnt Latin in order to read it, and by means of the Society's Chinese New Testament compiled himself a Chinese dictionary, and acquired considerable proficiency in the language.

kia-kow) he passed through the crumbling masses of the outer Great Wall, built in the days of Hannibal, and was the first Bibleman to enter the Desert of Gobi. "During the journey I gave away six Mongolian Testaments and several hundred Chinese Testaments;" and at Kalgan he had news from a Russian merchant of the surviving converts of Swan and Stallybrass at Selenginsk. "The fruit of their labours still remains, and I cannot but hope that British Christians will re-establish missionary operations among them." Mr Wylie reached Pekin at the end of November, and after a hearty welcome from the corresponding committee and the American missionaries, proceeded to Shanghai.

Some mention must now be made of the other mission centres. In the south operations were suspended during the "Arrow" troubles, but corresponding committees had been formed, at Hong-Kong in 1855 and at Canton in 1856; a temporary field of distribution was found at Singapore and Malacca; and when quiet was restored the missionaries and three or four native converts resumed their Bible tours. With so few to take part in the work, little could be attempted, but a power more than man's made good the dearth of human instruments. In Pok-lo, 100 miles north-east of Canton, a copy of the New Testament was placed in the hands of Ch'eä, the old guardian of the temple of Confucius. He read and believed the inspired page, resigned his guardianship, and taking with him the idols worshipped in his family for three generations, accompanied the colporteurs to Hong-Kong, where he was fully instructed and baptized by Dr Legge. Without prospects or means of support, he went back to his home and friends in Pok-lo. Bearing on his shoulders a board inscribed with awakening texts from the Scriptures, he passed from village to village, declaring the way of salvation. Thrice he returned to Hong-Kong with candidates for baptism, and in 1859 he was appointed catechist in connection with the London

Missionary Society. Men, women, and children accepted his teaching, until there were one hundred and eighty professed Christians in Pok-lo; four of the boldest refused to contribute to the idolatrous festivals, and Ch'eä himself lifted his hand against the public idols of his village and destroyed several of them. Out of respect for his age no one interfered, but resentment had been aroused, and it turned to fury when the standard of revolt was again raised and marauding bands appeared in the neighbourhood. The end came in 1861. On the 13th October Ch'eä was seized by armed men in a house which was being converted into a chapel, and carried off to an adjoining village. After two days of cruel torture he was taken down to the East River on the night of the 16th. He refused to renounce his Saviour, was cut down with the sword, and cast into the dark waters. But the old temple-guardian had not died in vain. By 1864 the storm of persecution had spent itself, and many were turning to the Christ whom he had proclaimed. Similarly in Chonglok, in this same north-eastern region, the Spirit of Truth breathed over fourteen villages; a little church was formed and passed through the fires of persecution; and in 1865 two of the Basel missionaries settled among the people.

From Amoy the Scriptures were scattered in the nearer islands; large supplies were distributed in Formosa; and crossing to the mainland, the colporteurs travelled far among the thickly-planted towns and teeming villages. In addition to the usual work at Fu-chau, the New Testament, issued in Portions, was completed in 1856 in the Colloquial of the district,[1] a language which was spoken by 2,000,000 people; while at Ningpo the expense of the Gospel of St Luke in Ningpo Colloquial for the use of the Blind was undertaken by the Society in 1859. The Colloquial of Ningpo was spoken

[1] The translator was Dr W. Welton of the Church Missionary Society. He died shortly after his return to England in 1858.

by thirty or forty millions, and in 1865 the Committee printed an edition of the Gospels and Acts in Roman characters on the suggestion of Mr Hudson Taylor.

Mr Wylie's plans were speedily put into operation. Four or five Chinese assistants were obtained from the mission stations,[1] and Samuel Johnson, a young Englishman at Shanghai, became the first of the European colporteurs whose services had been so long desired. Free distribution was definitively abandoned, and once more an enlarged circulation and the awakening of a genuine spirit of inquiry justified the principle of sale. The missionaries were given complete freedom of action, and in the provinces north of Fo-kien the sale system was readily adopted, with the encouraging result that in four years no fewer than 200,000 copies were thus circulated in three hundred walled cities and four times that number of towns and villages. In April 1865 a meeting of European and American missionaries at Canton decided almost unanimously in favour of selling, but the practice of giving had prevailed so long in the south that it was well-nigh impossible to effect a change. In the district about Amoy gratuitous distribution was restricted to Portions of Scripture in 1871, but it was not till 1876 that it was wholly abandoned.

An immense expansion bore testimony to the clear-sightedness, energy, and magnetic influence of the Society's agent. By the spring of 1868 the staff included twenty-six Chinese colporteurs and three Europeans, and in fifteen of the eighteen provinces of the empire the Word of Life had been distributed on many a perilous journey. In 1865 Mr Wylie ascended the West River into Kwangsi, was boarded by a gang of desperadoes in the reach of the Twelve Rocks, plundered at the point of the long knife, and finally escorted

[1] The number of Chinese converts at this date did not exceed 2500. In the whole of China there were not yet quite a hundred Protestant missionaries, and at Hankow alone had the Cross been planted really *in the midst* of the vast empire.

homeward by Chinese gunboats. One of his companions in that adventure was John Mollmann, a young Russian whom he had met at Ningpo, and who became long afterwards the veteran of the agency. From Hankow in 1866, Mr Wylie went up the Han-Kiang into regions unknown to the European. Far north, at Fan-ching, crowded boats and clamorous throngs upon the bank were attracted by the Bible flag, and 2300 volumes were sold amid wild scenes which lasted till darkness fell. Still further north on these inland waters, he was invited to dine with a Chinese admiral, a frank, kind man, who had collected many European curiosities—clocks, revolvers, telescopes, photographs,—but nothing so unexpected as a picture of our Saviour blessing the bread and wine, with the inscription, "This is my body; this is my blood," in French, Italian, and English. "As he was not acquainted with the subject, I took occasion to point out to him the passage in John's Gospel in the Testament I had given him, and gave him a brief outline of the Gospel;" and when they parted the foreigner was assured of a welcome the next time he passed that way. Leaving most of his people to return to Hankow, Mr Wylie crossed the untraversed hill country to the Yellow River, and found at Kai-fong the last remnants of the Jewish community which had settled there some eight centuries before. Nothing remained of the ancient synagogue but an outer gateway and a single stone tablet which contained the name "Israel" and allusions to Old Testament history. A few months later, three of these Jews sought out Mr Edkins at Pekin. They desired to be instructed in the Christian religion, and they had brought with them a lad to be taught Hebrew, and three of their sheep-skin rolls, each containing a complete copy of the Pentateuch.

In April 1868 Wylie and Griffith John set out on a memorable tour which was to take them through Cheng-tu, the capital of Sze-chuen, on to Singanfu, whither Alopun

the Nestorian had preceded them with the Holy Scriptures twelve centuries before,[1] and homeward down the Han River to Hankow. Threading the romantic gorges of wooded limestone and red and purple granite which the Yangtse has cut for 400 miles through the Mountains of the Seven Gates, they reached Chunking early in June, the first English Biblemen to enter Sze-chuen.[2] "There had been many opportunities of doing good. Many cities, towns, and villages had been visited. Many books had been sold and many sermons preached." At Su-chau they turned northwards into the Min River, narrowly escaped destruction in the rapids under the chain-looped bluff of Taou-sze-kwan, sailed past the huge Buddha cut out of the solid cliff near Kea-ting, and reached Cheng-tu on the 23rd July. "The finest city I have seen in China," thought Wylie; but plague was raging; people were dying at the rate of eighty a day; and idol processions, to which the mandarins had sent their jewels and insignia, were moving in all directions in hope of staying the calamity. "In no other province, I believe, could we have gone about offering our books at such a time without molestation." The French consul gave them an introduction to the Roman Catholic bishop, but from him they received scant courtesy. Their New Testament was returned, with a single card in Chinese for the two "heretics."

"I hardly expected to come back," wrote Griffith John.[3] "My brightest hope was that God would permit me to see

[1] Vol. i. p. 298.

[2] The French priests, however, had been before them; the Roman Catholics were very numerous in the province, and Chunking was one of their strongholds. And in 1865 a strange perfervid being, W. Paul Bagley, an American evangelist who came from Japan, passed through Sze-chuen like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Ignorant of the language, reckless of danger, indifferent to hardships, living on the proceeds of his sales, he distributed a large number of Scriptures in remote western cities, and at last made his way back to Hankow, barefoot, "in a most ragged and wretched state, suffering from disease, and in want of every necessary of life." Later, he appears for a moment, without scrip or purse, in Kwang-si. Stopped at Kweilin and ordered to return, his poverty occasioned a singular distribution among the literati. To provide him with means the Governor bought a case of Scriptures, and these were afterwards divided among the Yamens of the province, and paid for by the mandarins.

[3] Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John*, p. 230.

Cheng-tu, where, I thought, I could die in peace, knowing that my grave at that great and distant city would stimulate others to come, and occupy it in the name of the Lord." But they were graciously preserved through many dangers and chequered experiences to complete their journey of nearly 3000 miles; and after distributing 15,000 copies of the Scriptures, they arrived at Hankow on the 3rd September.

Ominous news awaited them. Accompanied by the trusty colporteur Wan Tai-ping, Mr Johnson had started in the preceding November on what he called "a long and last journey" across Ngan-hwei and Honan. They had reached Chingkiang on the Yangtse River, but beyond that point all trace of them had been lost. Many fruitless inquiries were made, but their fate remained a mystery until 1886, when one of the men of the China Inland Mission anchored at a small town on the Cha. He discovered that nearly twenty years before another "devil" had sold books there. A fire, attributed to the evil influence of the foreigner, had burned down a great part of the place, and at dead of night a band of men had murdered the strangers and destroyed their boat.

These events were salient, but everywhere the daily routine of colportage and missionary travels was crowded with vivid incidents, beset by dangers, marked by strange interpositions and unforeseen blessings. And on all sides a vital spirit was visibly operative. Pekin became a Bible centre for the Tartar tribes beyond the wall and the mixed population of Siberia. Russ and Mongol Scriptures were supplied to Bishop Viniami of Selenginsk, and Mr Swan had the happiness before he died of hearing of the introduction of his Bible into the Russian missions among the Buriats and of communicating with his old disciple Shagdūr.[1]

[1] From the records of 1835 let us preserve the trace of a letter which Mr Swan received from his convert Shagdūr, son of Kemuah: "It pleased God to give me a little son; and it has now pleased Him to remove the child from me. Every day I think that one member of my body has been taken to Heaven; and this thought

A few years later, when the Bishop was raised to the see of Kamstchatka, a new channel was found for the Manchu version. The Mandarin New Testament, translated by Dr Medhurst and the Rev. J. Stronach—the first of those "colloquial" versions which presented the Word of God in the common speech of vast masses of the people—had appeared in 1857; but it belonged to the Nankin or southern branch of the language, and a translation in the Pekin or northern vernacular, the work of a committee which included Mr Edkins and the Rev. S. Schereschewsky, afterwards Bishop in the American Episcopal Church, was published about 1870. A translation of St Matthew in Eastern Mongolian, prepared by these scholars with the help of a Lama, was printed in 1872.

Several of the villages in the Tientsin district were the scene of a remarkable religious awakening in 1866; but the barbarous massacre of the French missionaries in 1870, and the sullen hostility shown against all foreigners, prevented Bible-work for several years. To a great extent Shanghai was left to the care of the missions, but in 1868, on the initiative of the Bishop of Victoria (Dr Alford), an Auxiliary was formed among the large English community in the busy sea-port. At Canton, where colportage was impeded by the decision against free distribution, the Scriptures were exposed for sale in shops and bookstalls, and in 1869 there was less reluctance to purchase. Here, too, was felt the need of the Word in the speech of the people; Punti, the Canton Colloquial, was spoken by 25,000,000; three Gospels had appeared, and St Luke and Colossians, portions

is like a sweet savour in my breast. . . . Now, when my little William was born, the neighbours came in, bearing gifts; some gave one copeck [about one-tenth of a penny], some two; in all, forty copecks. When the child died, I did not know what to do with this money; but at length a thought came to me which gave joy to my heart; and about this I write these few lines." Among the many words which went to make up the New Testament, the Saviour's name ("Tonilgakshi") was, he said, often repeated, and although forty copecks might not suffice to pay for more than the dot over the "i" in the word Tonilgakshi, he begged that his little son's money might be accepted for that purpose.

of a version undertaken by the English, German, and American missionaries, left the press in 1871.

At Hong-Kong, where a large proportion of the Chinese Scriptures were printed, Bishop Alford was instrumental in founding an Auxiliary in 1868, and the funds raised were used for the expenditure on colporteurs, of whom fifteen or sixteen were employed by the corresponding committee. These did excellent work in Hong-Kong, the adjacent islands, and on the mainland,—"coming to us in the market-towns and villages," to use the words of an inflammatory placard, "drawing large crowds, and speaking to the educated as well as to the rustics, of one Jesus, saying He was of Shangti, the Only God."[1] Mr Lechler of the Basel Mission accompanied one of them into districts on the North River (Pe-kiang), and found there many families who still practised "the worship of the true God," taught them by Hung-Sew-tseuen in the early years of the Rebellion. There he founded two out-stations, and among those whom he baptized were an old man and his son, who had received baptism from the Taiping chief. At the request of the Basel missionaries the Committee added to their list the vernacular of the Hakkas ("Strangers"), a mediæval horde of nomads which parcelled the Punti territory many centuries ago;[2] and in 1865-66 Luke and Matthew, by Mr Lechler, were published in the Roman character, which was taught in all the German mission schools in the hope of superseding the Chinese. In 1870 corresponding committees were formed at Amoy and Fu-chau, up to that time dependent on Hong-Kong.

Mr Wylie's absence in England in 1869 revealed the

[1] This placard summarised in half a dozen lines the superstitious worldliness which everywhere in China made the preaching of the Cross foolishness: "The worship of the God of the barbarians would exclude all worship of ancestors as well as of our gods, and the efficacy of Geomancy would be brought to nothing. Would this be a way to riches and honour? Would our progeny be increased thereby? Woe, woe!"

[2] About the same time the Hoklos broke in from Fo-kien. The Puntis themselves were invaders. The Miau-Tsze, the aboriginal folk whom they dispossessed, survive now in the recesses of the mountains of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si.—*Revue de Géographie*, 1890, July-August.

extent to which the work depended on the influence of a master-spirit. He returned in the following autumn with two young men from St Chrischona; flagging energies revived; and for the next seven years the records of the agency became a swift and crowded "biograph" of new scenes, busy journeys, strange incidents. In the walled towns, in the open villages, among junk-men, at the great gatherings of students when the *kueyhwa*[1] flowered and the periodical examinations were held at each provincial capital, Mr Wylie and his three or four European assistants seemed to be ubiquitous. The Chinese colporteurs did wonders; in drought and heat, in rain, snow, and intense cold, two of them sold 27,000 copies in a twelvemonth. Two others were beaten by the mob and stripped of all they had. Fresh ground was broken in the central provinces; unknown regions were visited beyond the Wall. For a time the Fairy Powder scare—a wild rumour of a foreign conspiracy to poison the population—closed a great portion of the southern provinces. In Kwang-si, where the Biblemen were believed to be Taipings, and village after village was placarded with provocations on their arrival, the bitter memories of the Rebellion made colportage impossible. But the range of distribution was extended to Hainan and Lien-chau at the head of the Gulf of Tong-kin; in spite of warnings and threats a considerable circulation was effected in the Portuguese colony at Macao, where the Italian clergy excluded even their French and Spanish *confrères*; and in the Amoy district it was the colporteurs who persuaded the people to burn their idols and join in Sunday worship, and so prepared the way for churches and mission stations. The missions themselves entered upon large developments, and the objects of the Society were furthered by the growing conviction that "the circumstances required the living voice and the written letter to be united as much as possible,"

[1] The *Olea fragrans*, used to scent China tea.

The formation of an inter-missionary board for conserving the text of the Delegates' version was committed to Mr Wylie, whose last undertaking in China was an edition of Dr Schereschewsky's Old Testament in Northern Mandarin, which the American Bible Society had placed at the disposal of the Committee. His eyesight failed under the strain of proof-reading, and in 1877 he returned home for relief. But medical skill was of little avail, and in 1878 he was compelled to resign the post which he had held with conspicuous ability for seventeen years. The Committee marked their appreciation of his services by appointing him an Honorary Life Governor and making provision for his future comfort,[1] and Mr Samuel Dyer,[2] who had taken charge in the interval, was appointed his successor.

At that time the northern provinces were swept by the appalling famine of 1877-79, which carried off 10,000,000 of the population. In south Shan-se it was told how in the first year folk ate grass, in the second earth, in the third their own kind; and before the end wolves came down from the hills among the dying. Long afterwards, Biblemen in Kan-su passed over tracts of country fallen to wilderness, and came upon large towns silent and uninhabited. In the districts in which the missionaries administered the relief subscribed in Europe and America, the starving multitudes were moved by the efforts made on their behalf, and began to take account of a religion which taught men to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. The

[1] He resided in Hampstead until his death. He had ceased in 1881 to do more than sign his name to his correspondence. After a severe attack of illness in February 1883 the brilliant intellect too was darkened, and four years later, on the 6th February 1887, he passed away very peacefully, and was laid in his father's grave in Highgate Cemetery. "One of the most remarkable men I have ever met, whether in China or out of China," wrote Dr Griffith John. "A better man I think I never knew," said Sir Thomas Wade. One of the master Sinologues of his time, his help was invaluable to Sir E. Tennent in his *History of Ceylon*, to Sir H. Yule in his edition of *Marco Polo*, and to Sir H. Howorth in his *History of the Mongols*. A volume of his *Chinese Researches*, with biographical sketch, was published at Shanghai in 1897.

[2] Mr Dyer, son of the L.M.S. missionary, the Rev. S. Dyer of Malacca, had been engaged in teaching in Australia, and arrived in Shanghai shortly before Mr Wylie left.

colporteurs were welcomed, listened to with respect, pressed to remain and instruct them. There was a long list of towns and villages in which the Gospel was preached, and numbers desired to learn more of the new way of life. At Shih-chia-tang, in Shan-tung, two idol-temples were cleared and purified, and offered for school and meeting-house. After dark the costly idols of fine gilded clay were broken up and flung into a chasm left by the recent floods; and in demolishing them the people discovered that even in the gods they had worshipped the idol-makers had defrauded them with pewter in place of the precious heart and lungs of silver.

Beside this picture of hope and deliverance experience set another, of the sullen suspicion and superstitious dread of Christianity excited among the ignorant by the official class. In their hatred of the foreigner, they hesitated at no malign rumour of Christian sorcery that might scare the mob into brutal violence. While the idols were being smashed at Shih-chia-tang the following placard was being read at Shiu-fu in the remote west:—

"The books that the foreigner is selling are printed with ink made of stupefying medicine. When any one reads them for a time, he becomes stupefied and loses his natural reason, and believes and follows the false doctrine. This is to warn the Chinese not to purchase or read them. Again, the foreigners use much money to bribe the poorer class of Chinese who have no means to depend on. They also use the stupefying medicine in all sorts of food, in order to win over the little children. At times, they use it for kidnapping children, whom they then sell to foreigners. Again, they use it to befool them, and then take away their marrow. The children immediately die. In former years there have been law cases about stupefying and kidnapping children at Tientsin and Shanghai. Wherever foreigners come, families ought to warn their children not to go out."

Pigtails, it was believed, were cut off in the streets by invisible hands in broad daylight; paper men were sent up into the air, assumed terrible aspects, and settled on people, who languished and died under their evil spell; converts were drugged with the eyes of the dead, so that they might

destroy the tablets of their ancestors. These mischievous calumnies were repeated from one end of the empire to the other, and the enmity of the people was as fiercely stirred against the Chinese assistants as against the foreigners themselves.

Native colportage in such circumstances was too uncertain and too timorous to be of much use without European guidance and companionship, and Mr Mollmann was the only European in the service.[1] In one or two centres distribution had practically ceased, in others there was serious question as to continuing the system, when happily an arrangement was made with the China Inland Mission for some of its men to combine colportage with their special evangelistic work. It was a curious coincidence that on the very day (19th September 1853) the Committee decided "to print with the least practicable delay 1,000,000 of the Chinese New Testament," J. Hudson Taylor, then a young man of one-and-twenty, sailed for China as a medical missionary. Four years later he resigned his connection with the Chinese Evangelisation Society, returned home in failing health in 1860, sent out the first pioneer of what became the Inland Mission, and in 1866 went back with a band of fifteen, who boldly carried the Gospel message into the heart of the empire. In September 1878, when this experiment was begun, the China Inland Mission occupied twelve of the eighteen provinces, including Sze-chuen, Shen-si, and Kan-su in the remote west, and the staff, like that of the Society itself, was interdenominational. So satisfactory were the results that more men were asked for than the Mission could spare, and a similar plan of co-operation was proposed to the other missionary societies.

Unexpected provision was made for this departure. Indeed the work in China never lacked support. In 1868

[1] During a voyage undertaken for her health Mrs Mollmann died at sea, and after placing his little daughter in the care of friends in England, he returned to China in 1877 as his friend Mr Wylie left it.

an offer of £1000 had been made by a Leeds merchant towards a fund for chartering a vessel on the great rivers of China. Now, in 1880, under the signature "God's Book is best," a benefactor unnamed presented £1000 to be used in careful and enterprising colportage. In 1881 the work done seemed to him to resemble so closely "Our Lord's walks in Galilee," that he gave £1500 more. In 1883 £2000 was sent as a thank-offering for what had been attempted; and yet again, at the beginning of 1884 a second £2000, under the signature "Man's best gift to Chinamen," brought this special colportage fund up to £6500.

Two European colporteurs joined Mr Mollmann in 1881; a third in 1882. In the autumn of that year it was decided to divide China into three independent agencies, with a European head-colporteur to direct the Chinese staff in each province. Mr Dyer was appointed to the Central Agency, and in January 1884 the Rev. Evan Bryant of the London Missionary Society, who had served at Hankow and Tientsin, left England to take charge of the six northern provinces. Between 1880 and 1884 the Chinese staff had increased from 44 to 61. When the period closed there were engaged in the Society's work 2 agents and 11 European head-colporteurs, 4 Inland missionaries (with 4 Chinese colporteurs), 9 local committees[1] (26 colporteurs), and 8 missionaries superintendent[2] (15 colporteurs). In all but three of the eighteen provinces of the vast empire — Kwang-si, Yunnan, and Hunan — provision had been made for the regular distribution of the Scriptures. The circulation by colportage in 1880-81 was 63,360 copies; in 1883-84 it had risen to 163,120, almost wholly by sale at one third the cost of production. In addition, 63,000 copies, issued in other ways, brought the total of the year up to 227,000. Thus

[1] At Pekin, Shanghai, Hankow and Wuchang, Hang-chau, Fuchau, Amoy, Swatow, Hong-Kong, and Canton.

[2] At Mukden, Taku-t'an, Ningpo, Shaohing, Kin-chau, Tai-chau, Kin-wha, and the Isle of Hainan.

was the Word of Life scattered over twenty-two degrees of latitude, from Hainan in the tropics to Mukden the ancient four-square capital of the Manchus.

For Bible-work had extended into Manchuria. In 1873 Ross and MacIntyre of the United Presbyterian Mission settled at Newchwang, and had been liberally supplied with the Scriptures by Mr Wylie. Early in 1879 Mr Dyer visited the missionaries, and later in the year Messrs Pigott and Cameron of the China Inland Mission set out on the first great colportage journey in Manchuria—from Tientsin to Newchwang; from Newchwang down through blinding snowstorms, which held them weather-bound two nights and a day among the drifts of the moorland, to the extreme south of the Liaotung peninsula; thence along the eastern coast to the Korean Gate, where they sold at a winter fair, and crossed the Yalu to the fishers sinking their nets through holes in the ice, but refrained from touching the forbidden soil of Chosen;[1] onward to Mukden, and thence home through Newchwang and Pekin: sales, between 16,000 and 17,000 copies. In 1881 Mr MacIntyre had obtained a native colporteur, and Mollmann hoped to reach Kirin, but was withheld by the timidity of the Mandarin, who withdrew the passport he had granted. Beyond the eastern palisade lay the mysterious land of ginseng and gold dust. Up to 1881 the "hermit people" of Korea had suffered no stranger to approach, but the Scriptures had found entrance, and the Word of God was being translated into their own tongue. The story of Korea, however, must be reserved for the concluding period of our history.

In these years of more widely ranging activity Mr Dyer visited the island of Formosa to arrange for Bible-work, and Mr Paton, one of the head-colporteurs, sold 19,400 volumes in a two-months' journey from Tamsui to Taiwan.

[1] Ch'ao Hsien, "Morning Calm"; "Korea" comes from the Japanese name Ko-rai.

Mr Jeremiassen, a Danish medical volunteer, devoted himself to Hainan, where his skill and the sacred books were both welcomed. Men of the China Inland Mission made prosperous journeys in the highlands of Yunnan, "the cloudy region of the south." In Kan-su, where many races, languages, and creeds met and mingled, the Inland missionary reached in one district a town of Tibetan priests and gorgeous temples, found in another a tribe on the Yellow River—Lāsās, —peculiar in dress, Mohammedan in faith, and familiar with Arabic and Persian. Among the Mohammedans in the province, the mullahs and "old heads of the place" crowded with rapture round his Arabic Bible: "We had heard of it, but never saw it till we met you." "Jesus," said one, "was greater than all others." "There is something about Jesus," said a second; "He is the Lord's life-breath (*ruach*)."

In Kan-su, in Shen-si, in Shan-se, many were the traces of former work, evidences of the vitality and the strange migrations of books. "I have seen this before," said a man, as he took up a Portion; "it tells of dead men rising again." A mountaineer, from his home a hundred miles away, related how he had come to know of Christ through one of the Gospels, and how twenty others met at times to worship God with him. The Chinese, said Mr Wylie, rarely destroy a book, even when they cannot read or do not care to read it. A copy of Morrison's New Testament in eight volumes, printed in 1813, was found in the possession of a shopkeeper in Pekin in 1867. "Thousands and thousands of Scriptures and books about the Gospel are lying in the houses of the people of the land; little read, less understood, but ready to do God's work, when He shall bid it."

As we pass from these outlines of strenuous evangelism what scenes and incidents rise within the mind's eye! Here, beside the Grand Canal, is a poor old Buddhist priest, haggard and wild of aspect, whose head has been bound for many years with an iron band. The colporteur,

with kindly greeting, gives a book which will lead him to One whose head was crowned with thorns. Seven little boys, with shaven heads and pigtails, buy books in the morning. In the evening the colporteurs come upon four of them, on a hill, reading from the books to a grey-headed man. He is their teacher. When the little fellows stop at a character they do not know, he looks through his spectacles and tells them. Our men sit down and read of the death of Christ, in the 27th chapter of Matthew, and speak about the Gospel. The old teacher bids the children read these books daily, and says that the merit of Jesus was great. Here, on the way to Kai-fung, is a murderer going by in chains. He listens eagerly to the message of salvation, and his guards pay a few cash that he may have a Gospel. Near the Mission Hospital at Swatow a boat has been moored for nearly three weeks, with two families living on board; and morning and evening they have attended divine worship, so as to become better acquainted with Christian doctrine and practice. They were brought thither by a few leaves of St Matthew which an old boatman had found floating in the harbour. Far inland from Amoy, as the colporteurs descend the River of the Seventy Rapids, one tells the boatmen the sorrowful story of the death of the Lord. Among the passengers a very quiet simple-minded man, who has listened intently, asks them to repeat what they have said. They comply, and as they speak of the crucifixion, they see the tears streaming down his face, and at last he breaks into loud sobbing. The story, they think, must have brought back painful recollections in his own history, for he knows nothing of the Scriptures, and has never heard of the life and death of the Saviour. When he has grown calm they question him. No, he replies, they have awakened no memory of sad experiences; but that One so good, One who had come to save men, should suffer so cruelly at the hands of those He

came to save has pierced his very heart; how shall he refrain from weeping?

The progress of translation was necessarily less conspicuous. In Punti the second Gospel and the Acts were published in 1872. Matthew and John were finished in 1873, and the intractable Pauline Epistles were in hand, when the work was suspended, owing to many doubts as to the wisdom of Colloquial versions. The matter was decided by the increasing demand for the translation, and in 1881 the Four Gospels and Acts were put to press. In 1876 a Punti version of the Psalter by the Rev. A. B. Hutchinson was issued by the Hong-Kong committee, though they too were in general unfavourable to Colloquial forms; and in 1884 another rendering of the Psalms, by Dr Graves, was published at Canton by the American Bible Society.

St Mark and the Acts appeared in the Hakka tongue in 1874. A volume containing St John, Romans, and the First and Second Corinthians, the work of the Rev. Kong Fatlin, a native missionary educated at Basel, left the press in 1879. The four Epistles, Galatians to Colossians, by the same translator, were issued in 1881; and the Rev. C. P. Piton of the Basel Mission finished the rest of the New Testament in 1883.

In the Swatow Colloquial the Gospel of St Luke was printed in Roman characters under the editorship of the Rev. William Duffus in Glasgow in 1877.

In the Amoy Colloquial the New Testament and Psalms were published at the expense of friends in 1873. In 1879 the Society undertook an edition of the Old Testament prepared by a committee of the three missions working in Amoy; the books were issued in Portions as printed, and the work was completed at the beginning of 1884.[1]

A committee was formed in 1883 for the revision of the

[1] The difficulties caused by gratuitous distribution in the Amoy district were eventually overcome. In 1876 the amount realised by sales was $2; in 1879 it was $76; in 1883 as many as 34,500 copies were sold.

New Testament in Ningpo Colloquial, and in 1880 the Rev. W. Muirhead, with the sanction of the Society, began the translation of Old Testament Portions in the Shanghai vernacular. As the period closed yet another project was in train for presenting the sacred text in the simplest literary form; but the account of the Easy Wenli version belongs to a later time.

The total distribution of the Chinese Scriptures from 1814 to 1884 was estimated at 3,047,000 copies. The expenditure of the Society during the thirty years to 1883-84 amounted to £78,253, of which £52,368 was provided by the Million Testament Fund. The receipts came to £6986. From 1865 the Committee granted between 11,000 and 12,000 volumes (£1296) in fifteen European and several Eastern languages, chiefly for the benefit of English and foreign seamen in Chinese ports.

Far beyond the empire itself, the circulation of the Chinese Scriptures extended to the multitudes which had streamed abroad in almost furtive silence since the days of the great "gold-rushes." At the anniversary meeting in 1882 Mr Swanson of Amoy pictured their startling ubiquity. In the Straits of Malacca they had turned the jungle into a garden. They exceeded 200,000 in the Malay Archipelago. There were 100,000 in the Philippines. He found them in thousands and tens of thousands in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand. They had settled in the Fiji and Samoan groups and the Sandwich Islands. They were as numerous in the State of San Francisco as in the Philippines. He prayed the Society to double its past labours; for this stream of population, passing out of the East into almost every part of the habitable globe, carried with it not only the native energy and industry of the Chinese people, but the idolatry and unspeakable corruption of Chinese heathenism.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE LAND OF THE MORNING

"It was the mountains of Japan that first welcomed in Asia the rays of the first Easter morning." Yet, in God's mysterious dispensation, fifteen centuries passed away before the Japanese heard the tidings of the empty sepulchre which that sunrise revealed in the garden on Golgotha.

Across the Eastern Sea to Kiu-shiu the great gales of 1542 drove the notorious sea-rover Mendez Pinto, who had recently plundered the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings in an island off Che-Kiang;[1] and the same stress of weather carried three other Portuguese to the coast of Satsuma, where they settled as traders. These were the earliest comers of "the barbarians of the South." Two years later, Alfonso Vaz, a Portuguese merchant, reached Japan, and by a strange linking of events his sojourn led to the mission of Francis Xavier. For, about that time, Anjero, a person of some rank in Kagoshima, had slain a man in the heat of passion, and fled for refuge from the avengers of blood to a monastery of bonzes. There his life was safe, but he could find no peace for his troubled conscience. He had formed the acquaintance of some of the Portuguese, and to one of them, Alfonso Vaz, he opened his heart. The merchant offered him all the help

[1] In 1551 we find Pinto a startling figure in the suite of the Jesuit mission. He accompanied Francis Xavier on his visits to the Daimios of Kiu-shiu, returned with him on his perilous voyage to San-shan, where the saint died on the 2nd December 1552, and in 1556 arrived in Japan for the third time as ambassador from "the Viceroy of the Indies."

in his power, and arranged for his leaving Japan secretly with Alvarez, a great friend of Xavier's. When the travellers reached Malacca they learned that the missionary was absent among the Spice Islands. Anjero waited until his patience failed, and then embarked for his own country. Twice he was blown back by storms to the Chinese coast, and there he fell in again with Alfonso Vaz, who prevailed on him to return to Malacca. At length Xavier and he met; the penitent found the rest he sought, was baptized, and took the name of Paul of the Holy Faith.

It was the cry of that forlorn and sin-burdened soul which sent "the Apostle of the Indies" to Japan; and on the 15th August 1549, accompanied by two of his colleagues and his convert Paul, the friend and disciple of Loyola landed at Kagoshima. Within a couple of decades the adherents of Christianity were numbered by the hundred thousand. Many of the great barons accepted the doctrine of Rome; and for the masses of the people the ritual and pageantry of their old faiths were not so much changed as infused with a new significance and quickened with a fresh life and fervour. "The images of Buddha, with a slight application of the chisel, served for images of Christ; and the roadside shrines of Kuwanon, the goddess of mercy, became centres of Mariolatry." But long before the century closed, the spirit of the Inquisition had begun to claim its victims. Buddhist monasteries were destroyed and bonzes put to death; and the political intrigues of the Jesuits had excited an angry apprehension that the spread of Christianity was an insidious preparation for the subjection of the country to some foreign power. In 1588, and again in 1593, when six Franciscans and three Jesuits were martyred at Nagasaki, the missionaries received unmistakable warnings of their danger. The storm burst in all its fury in 1614, under Iye-yasu the founder of the fourth and last dynasty of Shô-guns, and during three-and-twenty years the provinces of the empire were reddened

with Christian blood. Heaven and the Four Seas had been called to obey the edict which was to leave "the wicked sect" not an inch of Japanese soil whereon to plant their feet, and in 1637 the ruthless persecution culminated in the tragedy of Shimabara, when 30,000 Christians who had revolted were massacred, burned at the stake, crucified, scalded to death in the boiling sulphur wells of Onsen, hurled from the rock of Takaboko-shima into the waters of Nagasaki harbour.

From that day Japan was a closed realm, which it was death to the foreigner to enter or the native to leave.[1] For more than two hundred years the name of Jesus was held in execration; Christianity was associated with sorcery, sedition, political conspiracy, the corruption of society and the betrayal of the State; children were taught to trample on the cross as the symbol of a hateful superstition; and in every village in the country the public notice-boards proclaimed the rewards offered for the delation of priests, catechists, and converts.[2] As late as 1868 the bitter detestation of the Gospel found expression in the blasphemous edict which confronted the European wherever he was permitted to land:—

"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."

The security of that long seclusion was abruptly terminated on the 8th July 1853, when four warships, bearing

[1] In 1640 the Portuguese envoy, commissioned to negotiate for the resumption of trade, was executed at Nagasaki with sixty of his suite, his ships were burned, and thirteen survivors were sent back to Macao. For Gützlaff's unsuccessful attempt to restore three shipwrecked Japanese to their country in 1837, *see* vol ii. p. 394.

[2] Every trace of Christian literature appears to have been destroyed. Anjero is said to have translated the Gospel of St Matthew for Xavier, and probably those portions of the Old and New Testaments used in the liturgy were accessible in Japanese. Even a version of the New Testament, according to Neumann (*Ostasiatiche Geschichte*, p. 330), must have been printed by the Jesuits at Miako (Kioto) before 1613. In any case, the Scriptures had never been all in all to the Japanese Christians as they were long afterwards to the Malagasy.

proposals for a treaty of amity and commerce from the President of the United States, dropped anchor off Uraga at the entrance of the Bay of Yeddo. Temporising was useless, resistance impossible, and in the following year the treaty, which opened two of the Japanese ports, was signed by the Shô-gun.` The claims of other nations to the same concessions were urged with a similar display of power, and in the Report for 1855 we find that the eyes of the Committee were already turned in eager expectation to these mysterious islands on the verge of the sunrise. In August 1858 Lord Elgin secured the Treaty of Yeddo; early in 1859 the first Protestant missionaries, the Rev. J. Liggins of the American Protestant Church, and his colleague the Rev. C. M. Williams, afterwards Bishop, took up their station at Nagasaki; Bishop Smith of Victoria passed over from Hong-Kong in the following year, gathered the materials for his fresh and vivid *Ten Weeks in Japan*, and in May 1861 riveted the interest of the anniversary meeting in Exeter Hall with the impressions of his journey.[1]

A Japanese embassy, making a tour of the western nations, arrived in London in the summer of 1862, and three copies of the Chinese Bible, together with an address from the Committee, were offered for their acceptance. Before they left England, however, the books were sent back with a polite acknowledgment and an explanation that any other course might involve them in difficulties on their return home. Meanwhile, every opportunity had been used to spread the sacred volume in the new field. The Chinese version had been introduced, and a tentative edition of Dr Bettelheim's Luchu Gospel of St Luke, column for column with the Chinese text, had been prepared at the

[1] One singular detail may here be given from his address. He learnt that in Yeddo the Japanese Government maintained the descendants of about a hundred families who had abjured Christianity, and whose lives had been spared on condition that they preserved from father to son the tradition of Roman Catholicism, so that at any time they might be available as a court of inquisitors for the detection of the execrated religion.

instance of the Committee; but in the course of the year clear and accurate information as to the condition of the country was received from one of the American missionaries. The Daimios, or feudal princes, were in a state of political excitement which threatened to end in revolution and civil war. In the jealous temper of the Government distribution was both impolitic and dangerous. The movements of foreigners were restricted to within twenty-five miles of the Treaty Ports. There were no Japanese who could be employed as colporteurs, and in any case Bettelheim's Gospel did not commend itself as a suitable version, and the Chinese Scriptures, which had been circulated to a small extent, were unintelligible except to the well-educated.

In the midst of these difficulties no time was lost in mastering the language and entering on the labours of translation. Among the pioneers of this arduous enterprise were Dr J. C. Hepburn of the American Presbyterian Mission; Bishop Williams, Dr G. F. Verbeck, the Rev. J. A. Ballagh, and Dr S. R. Brown of the Dutch Reformed Church in America; and the Rev. Jonathan Goble of the American Free Baptist Missionary Society. Goble had first seen the wrinkled sea-green hills of Japan from the deck of one of the United States warships in 1853. He had joined the expedition that he might ascertain for himself the chances of mission-work; had been sent out again, ordained, in 1859; and had undertaken a version of St Matthew, which in 1871 attained the distinction of being the first Japanese Portion produced in Japan since the seventeenth century.[1] The whole of Mr Ballagh's translations perished in the fire which ravaged Yokohama in November 1866, and in another

[1] Goble was subsequently employed for some time by the American Bible Society. A man of extraordinary resource and ingenuity, he is generally conceded to have invented the jin-riki-sha ("man-power-carriage," or "Pull-man-car" as it has been translated), which he contrived for the convenience of his invalid wife; constructed and drove, while selling Bibles, "the first if not the only cart drawn by horse over the Hakone Pass"; and taught most of the shoemakers in Yokohama their trade in the late sixties. Died in the States in 1898.—*Tokio Missionary Conference*, p. 687.

outbreak in the following April Dr Brown lost his revised manuscripts of Luke and John and his rough draft of Genesis. But these disasters were met by redoubled exertions; and encouragements were not wanting. At Nagasaki, where Dr Verbeck had distributed a considerable number of Chinese Scriptures, religious books, and tracts, four Buddhist priests had gone to him to find out from the Bible itself what Christianity really was, and "some even in high places," he reported, had been led to the Saviour by means of the Chinese version.

Under that vague allusion was concealed a strange story of the inscrutable workings of the Divine Spirit. As far back as 1854, while English statesmen were pressing their claims to commercial intercourse with Japan, a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Baracoota* dropped his Testament overboard. The vessel lay in the shadow of the green hills around the Gulf of Nagasaki, perhaps even within view of the island-rock from which the martyrs had been hurled in the great persecution. The book sank, but it was landed in the nets of a fisherman, who took it to Wakasa Murata of Saga, commander of the Japanese troops guarding the port. Wakasa ascertained that the volume had been translated into Chinese; a copy was obtained from Shanghai, and the reading of it convinced himself, his brother Ayabe, and a near relative named Molino that its pages contained the word of eternal life. With extreme caution they communicated at intervals with Dr Verbeck, who explained their difficulties and satisfied all their inquiries; and at last, on Whitsunday 1866, the three nobles were baptized by Bishop Williams. In after years both Wakasa's daughter and Ayabe's embraced Christianity. The nurse of the former also received baptism, and returning to Saga opened a Sunday school, and brought many to the knowledge of the Gospel.

The Restoration of the Mikado in 1868 inaugurated a new

epoch in the history of Japan.[1] The Daimios consolidated the forces of the empire by the resignation of their princely territories, and occupation was provided for their vassals and retainers, the two-sworded Samurai, in the Government offices and national banks. The assimilation of the science and civilisation of the West had begun; and though no change was made in the penal enactments against "the evil sect," they were held in abeyance by the growing spirit of toleration, and the perception of the vast difference between the methods of "Bible Christians" and those of Roman Catholicism contributed in some measure to a less indiscriminate antagonism towards Christianity.

Eighteen seventy-two was a year of unusual interest. On the 10th March the first Japanese Christian congregation—one of the smallest of congregations; nine young men baptized that very day, and two native teachers—was openly organised at Yokohama, and took the name of the Church of Christ; Dr Hepburn issued his version of St Mark and St John; a Bible depôt was opened in one of the principal thoroughfares of Kobe; and in September a convention of missionaries met at Yokohama, appointed a translation committee, which consisted of Dr S. R. Brown, Dr Hepburn, and the Rev. D. C. Greene of the American Board Mission,

[1] The "Restoration" of the Mikado is unique in history. The founder of the Mikado dynasty, the most ancient in the world, was Jimmu Tenno, who reigned in the days when Manasseh reared up altars for Baal and worshipped all the host of heaven. The theory of his divine descent from the Sun-goddess reduced his successors, in the twelfth century, to a splendid but helpless seclusion, in which, while the Mikado was venerated as the only sovereign, his power was wielded on his behalf by the Shô-gun (War-commander), the most powerful of his Daimios or feudal barons. Three dynasties of Shô-guns maintained this imperial fiction down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1603, the year in which James I. succeeded Elizabeth, Iye-yasu founded the fourth, that of the great house of Tokugawa. The recklessness or presumption of the Shô-gun in signing the treaty with the United States without the sanction of the Mikado and in subscribing himself "Tai-kun" (Great Ruler) was impeached by his enemies as high treason, and involved Japan in the strife and bloodshed of the next few years. Keiki, the last of the Shô-guns, who succeeded in 1866, resigned his power to the young Emperor Mutsu Hito in November 1867, but the jealousies of the princely houses precipitated a short but fierce civil war before the Restoration was complete. In the summer of 1868 the name of Yeddo, with its distasteful associations of the Shogunate, was changed to Tokio; and, abandoning Kioto, the sacred city of nine centuries of divine government by proxy, the Mikado took possession in person of his "Eastern Capital."

and directed that proposals for joint action should be transmitted to the great Bible Societies of Britain and America. At home the Committee were doing what they could to further the same object. In the closing years of his life at Chicago Dr Bettelheim had revised with native help his Luchu translation of the Four Gospels and the Acts, and had bequeathed his manuscript to the Society, with a gift of $400 towards the expense of printing. The Gospel of St John was still passing through the press at Vienna when the distinguished Iwakura embassy arrived in London. The Governor of Tokio visited the Bible House, and accepted with marked gratification a copy of the Chinese Bible and an English Reference Bible which he had expressed a desire to purchase. Unfortunately there was nothing in Japanese to offer him, but a few weeks later, while the embassy was still in Paris, the Bettelheim Gospel was finished, and in an interview with Iwakura himself M. Monod presented his Excellency with a copy. The ambassador—one of the foremost men in Japan, both in intellect and influence—seemed delighted as he turned over the leaves of the book, remarked that it was very easy to read, and asked whether the Society had nothing else in the same language. A more deliberate opinion of the text was pronounced by one of the attachés—a young Japanese whose story is too beautiful to omit,—and these commendations decided the Committee to proceed with St Luke and the Acts.

In the woody uplands some hundred miles along the Road of the Central Mountains, Osaki Niisima was born in 1844. As a youth he was sent to college at Yeddo to study the higher Chinese classics, and there, at the age of eighteen, he came across a book in Chinese which opened with the marvellous words: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Again and again he read them, for they contained an answer to all his strange dreams and questionings of life and living things, the light of setting

suns, and the round ocean and the living air and the blue sky. Among the mountains there were many shrines sacred to the spirits which dwelt within the rocks; through all ages ascetics had "acquired merit" by ascending to the highest peaks. Amid the snow on the top of Dandokusen, Shitta Tai-shi had found the aged Rishi Arara; on the summit of Omine, Sho-kaku had found the body which had been his own in an earlier state of existence; but no one had ever found the God who made heaven and earth. Thenceforth it was his constant thought how *he* might find Him. The book which contained those marvellous words was a primer of geography compiled by an American missionary. He inquired and read about America. It was far away, and even to attempt to leave Japan would expose him to the penalty of death; but to find the God who made heaven and earth he was ready to risk all, to forsake all; and after the custom of his people, he wrote down the prayer which was working in his heart: "O Thou unknown God, if Thou hast eyes, look upon me; if Thou hast ears, hear me, and lead me to Thyself." In 1864 he persuaded a sea-captain at Hakodate to help him to escape. From Shanghai he worked his passage to Boston, where, after he had suffered ten weeks of hardship and sorrow, he was succoured by one who had found the God he sought. The owner of the vessel, the Hon. Alpheus Hardy, heard of his adventures, sent for him, afterwards adopted him and provided for his education at Amherst College and Andover Theological Seminary. Niisima was still pursuing his theological studies when the Iwakura embassy visited the United States and demanded his services as an interpreter. The young outlaw received a free pardon, and accompanied the great ambassador during his tour in Europe. Returning to Boston, he was ordained in September 1874. At a crowded meeting of the American Board, at which he said farewell, he poured out his heart in a passionate appeal for his country: "Upon this platform

I stand until you give me the money to erect a college in which I may teach my poor fellow-countrymen of God—the God of love, the Living God, for whom their souls are crying out." He ceased speaking, and in the solemn hush of the large audience stood waiting in silence. Then the Hon. Peter Parker of Washington rose and promised $1000, and in a few minutes subscriptions amounting to $5000 secured the foundation of the famous Christian academy, the Doshisha, at Kioto.

By the time Niisima landed on his native shores the anti-Christian edicts had been formally withdrawn; Christian professors were teaching in Government schools and colleges; and although any attempt at general colportage was still deprecated as premature and injudicious, a Bibleman was distributing the Scriptures among the shipping at Yokohama, and several converts had opened shops for the sale of Christian literature. The first steps had also been taken to carry out the version scheme of the missionary convention.

We shall now attempt to give a brief outline of the outstanding events connected with the translation of the Scriptures into Japanese.

In 1873 Goble's work was taken up by the translator of the Assamese New Testament, Dr Nathan Brown of the American Baptist Union; the Four Gospels and other Portions appeared at intervals in the next five years; and in August 1879 the printing of the first Japanese New Testament was completed.

In 1874 the Delegates' Translation Committee at Yokohama invited the co-operation of R. S. Maclay of the American Episcopal Church, Dr Nathan Brown, John Piper of the Church Missionary Society, and W. B. Wright of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. St Luke was issued in 1875; Romans, Hebrews, and a revised text of St Matthew were published in 1876, and other sections followed. In 1876, however, Dr Nathan Brown resigned;

and as distance and other engagements prevented the attendance of Messrs Piper, Wright, and Maclay, the Translation Committee was reduced to the three American missionaries who were its original members. Still its representative character was unchanged, and extreme dissatisfaction was felt when the American Bible Society, which maintained two of these members, assumed exclusive right to the use of the versions made by the committee. In time these differences were adjusted, and fresh developments prepared the way for combined action on the part of the three great Bible Societies.

In October 1876, on the initiative of the correspondents of the London Committee, an important meeting of missionaries was held at Tokio, at which four of their number, appointed as an auxiliary to the Delegates' Translation Committee, were commissioned to translate the Old Testament. In the following year eleven chapters of Genesis and several books of the Minor Prophets (the work of Mr Piper) were published at the expense of the British and Scottish Bible Societies; and the Psalms, Isaiah, and other books were in hand when, in May 1878, another convention of missionaries assembled in the Eastern Capital. Earlier arrangements were superseded by the appointment of Hepburn, S. R. Brown, Maclay, Greene, and Piper as a Permanent Revision Committee nominated by the delegates of the various missions; and the position was clearly defined in a resolution which declared the translations put forth by the Permanent Committee to be the common property of all Protestant missionaries, and authorised the three Bible Societies to print and circulate such editions of these texts as they considered desirable.

The revision of the New Testament was finished on the 30th March 1880; the first edition was printed for the American Bible Society at Yokohama on the 17th April, and on the 19th an enthusiastic meeting, attended by representatives of fourteen missionary societies and of all

the Protestant Japanese congregations in Tokio, assembled in the Shinsakaya Bashi church to celebrate the happy event.[1]

Meanwhile progress was being made with the Old Testament, and early in 1881 the three Bible Societies issued Jonah, Haggai, and Malachi, translated by Mr Piper, and Joshua, translated by the Rev. P. K. Fyson of the Church Missionary Society (in 1896 Bishop of Hokkaido). But the method, adopted at the outset, of apportioning the work among sub-committees in the large towns proved unsatisfactory, and after correspondence between the Bible Societies with a view to joint expenditure, the completion of the Old Testament version under the supervision of the Permanent Committee was, in 1882, committed to Dr Verbeck, Dr Hepburn, and Mr Fyson.[2] The accomplishment of their task belongs, however, to the last period of our history, and we now turn to the share which the Society took in the work of distribution.

During the summer of 1875 Mr Wylie, the agent for China, visited Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama, and Tokio, on a tour of inquiry. He met the various resident missionaries, and was cordially received by the Translation Committee, who expressed their desire to facilitate in every way the co-operation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As the result of his representations the English missionaries in Tokio formed a Corresponding Committee, and a few months later direct communication with the Bible House was established. Arrangements were made for the printing of the Delegates' versions, and a supply of English Scriptures was granted for the benefit of the Japanese who had begun to turn their attention to our language. In addition to the Bettelheim Luchu Gospels, nearly 3000 copies

[1] The Society published a reference edition in the same year. Other editions followed, in various characters to suit different classes of readers. One of the most notable was a Chino-Japanese diglot, published by Jujiya & Co., a Tokio house. The Parable of the Prodigal Son in raised type for the blind, on the system of Dr Faulds of the U.P. Church of Scotland Mission, was also issued.

[2] The services of Dr Verbeck and Mr Fyson were specially engaged. Dr Hepburn had been a volunteer helper from the beginning.

of the Old and New Testaments in Chinese were sent over from Shanghai, and these were extensively used in the schools and otherwise readily purchased at a higher price than they would command in China.

In the course of a second trip in the autumn of 1876 Mr Wylie had an opportunity of conferring with the agent of the Bible Society of Scotland, and of strengthening relations with the different missionary societies. The Corresponding Committee had despatched supplies of the Scriptures to the treaty ports and to brethren in the interior, had arranged with some of the native booksellers for the distribution of the Bible, and were considering the means of opening a depôt. Their most important proceeding, however, was, as we have seen, the appointment of the Tokio Translation Auxiliary.

In 1877 a depôt was rented on the premises of a leading bookseller, and a signboard in English and Japanese proclaiming the fact appeared in the Ginza, the main street of the capital. A considerable stock of the new Japanese Portions was purchased by the Corresponding Committee, and over 20,000 copies were placed at the disposal of the British missions. The days when colportage seemed too dangerously aggressive were drawing to a close. In 1878 the Rev. H. Maundrell of the Church Missionary Society secured a person of excellent character as the Society's first colporteur, and in the following year three men were at work. Their sales were not large, but they had encountered no hostility, and the authorities had not interfered. A new day, with larger outlook and loftier purposes, had dawned on Japan. In the city of the Mikado, "at the Sign of the Cross" — that symbol which for four centuries had been publicly and periodically insulted and execrated—the Japanese publisher Jujiya, himself a Christian, was selling, unharmed and unquestioned, the Christian Scriptures which had issued from his own press. Stranger still; no official interposed, no protesting voice was heard, when on the

13th October 1880—a few months after the completion of the "Standard" New Testament—a unique assemblage of Japanese and foreign Christians publicly testified to their faith in the Saviour of the world. The spacious rooms and gardens of a favourite resort on the border of the Uyeno Park were engaged for the day, and several thousands of people, including Buddhist priests and persons of the higher and official classes, were witness of this "good profession." On that very ground the last bloody battle of the Restoration had been fought. In full view rose the evidences of the beliefs of old Japan. "On a little island of the lake of Shinobazu stood the temple dedicated to the Goddess Benten; towards the left might be seen the temple of the thousand-handed Goddess of Mercy; within a stone's throw to the rear sat a bronze image of Buddha twenty feet high; and in the midst of all these a large and orderly crowd stood attentively listening to the proclamation of the Gospel." Strangest of all; in this same year contracts could be made with the Government press for the printing and binding of the Holy Scriptures.

The need for an agent who should keep the Society's operations in line with those of the Scottish and American Societies had for some time been under consideration, and in November 1880 the Committee appointed the Rev. Isaac John Taylor, who had served the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon and Southern India. He sailed in January and, reaching Yokohama in March,[1] took over the secretaryship and business management of the Corresponding Committee. Up to this point the British and Foreign Bible Society had had but slight opportunity to take a part in keeping with its

[1] A few days after his landing, King Kalakaua of Hawaii took part in celebrating the ninth anniversary of the founding of the native Church of Christ at Yokohama, and accepted from the native pastor a copy of the Japanese New Testament as "an exchange of love, not only between Hawaii and Japan as nations, but also as between the Christians of our country and yours." Miraculous power of the Gospel! Fifty-six years had not gone by since Kapiolani descended into the crater of Kilauea and ate the berries of Pelé; within the last dozen "the Great God of all" was still warned against landing in Japan at the peril of His head.

great traditions. In 1881, when its own distribution did not reach 8000 copies, the circulation of the American Bible Society exceeded 68,000, and that of the Bible Society of Scotland, with its sixteen colporteurs, was over 26,000.

With the growing knowledge of the Gospel the demand for the Old Testament became so urgent that various Portions of the Delegates' Chinese version were prepared in *Kunten* (Chinese marked with the Japanese diacritical points) by Robert Lilley, the Scottish agent, and Chimura, a native Christian; and the separate books of the Pentateuch and the Psalms were issued at intervals by the two British Societies. In 1882 twelve colporteurs were busy in the capital, at Numadzu, Osaka, Nagasaki, Kumanoto, and Kagoshima, the landing-place of Francis Xavier. Spiritually-minded and steadfast Biblemen were, however, hard to find, and the movements of foreigners were still embarrassed by the passport regulations. Nor had the danger of offending the susceptibilities of the people wholly passed away. While Mr Taylor was seeking for a house which might serve as a depôt and C.M.S. station at Nagasaki, a Japanese who favoured the Christians was twice very hardly treated by the mob. A more liberal spirit prevailed in Tokio, where new premises had been obtained in the Ginza; no resentment was shown when the depositary explained his inability to take part in the decorations for the great religious festivals.

In 1883 the agents of the three Bible Societies agreed to divide among themselves the labour of carrying through the press the various books of the Old Testament as they left the hands of the translators. In April Mr Taylor attended the important Missionary Conference at Osaka, in connection with which a share of the offertory of the Church Mission congregation formed the first contribution to the Society's funds from Japan; in June he had a friendly interview with Bishop Nicolai Kassatkin of the Greek Church, who asked

him to supply with the Word of God four new congregations of converts in the north-west province of Nippon; and in August he was in the midst of his work when the sudden and alarming illness of his wife compelled him to embark at once for England. As the doctors forebade her return, her husband's connection with the Society was reluctantly closed.

The affairs of the agency were again placed in charge of the Corresponding Committee, and with prompt generosity the Bible Society of Scotland arranged that all business details should be managed by their own agent, Mr J. A. Thomson. From 1875 to 1884 the circulation of the British and Foreign Bible Society amounted to 54,164 copies of Scripture. The expenditure for 1880 was £4562, and receipts came to £520.

Who does not pause with wonderment as he concludes the outline of this introductory work? In 1853 these Isles of the Sunrise were an unknown, mysterious land "thrice three times walled" with fire and sword against Christianity. In 1876 the old lunar holidays were abolished, and days coinciding with the Christian Sabbath took their place; and in 1883 the Church of Christ was represented by 18 Protestant missions at 37 stations, by 90 congregations with 4987 adult members, by 63 mission schools with 2500 scholars, and by 7 theological seminaries with 71 students, from which had already gone forth 49 ordained native pastors and 100 assistant preachers and catechists. When the four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth came round in 1883, it was not from Germany or England, but from the native churches of Osaka — while Europe still slept under the November stars — that the first hymn and prayer of gratitude rose to heaven on the morning of the 10th for the gift of the free and open Bible.

On that day of flags and chrysanthemums was founded the Union for daily Scripture-reading, known as Sei-sho-no Tomo, or "Friends of the Bible"—an idea brought over by

a little girl who returned to Japan in 1882, and who had been a member of the Children's Scripture-reading Union of England. "Already there are signs of a mighty revolution beginning," wrote Mr Thomson as the period closed.

"Old fears, superstitions, and heathen practices are being discarded. Rich and poor[1] are beginning to seek after God. Many fear that the crisis will be reached before we are ready. But we believe that Christ is with us, and we have courage to go on, looking to English Christians to strengthen our hands."

[1] In 1883, 70 per cent. of the adult population, including a good number of women, were able to read; and the Scriptures were now stereotyped so cheaply that a New Testament cost a shilling and a Gospel little over a penny.

INDEX

ABYSSINIA, the Galla maiden—Christian Spittler, 266; laymen's mission—reception by King Theodore, 267-68; the "Apostles' Way," 268-69; Theodore's quarrel—fall of Magdala, 269-70; depôt at Massowa, 271; Bible-readers persecuted, 273-74; Iohannes II., 274-75; the King's "converts," 277—*see* Shoa
Acland, Sir T. Dyke, Vice-President, 66
Adeney, Rev. G. J., Hon. Life Governor, 12
Africa, East, 282, 284; *see* Zanzibar, Uganda
——, North, supplies from Malta, 214; from Italy, 217; work in Algeria and Tunis—Arab revolt, 247-48; agency formed — local committee, 249-50; Morocco—Mr W. Mackintosh agent, 250-51; Tripoli, 248
African prefixes, 282*n*
Albania, Dr Thomson's tour, 223; Mr A. Davidson sub-agent, 224; work, 225-27; colporteur Sosnovski disappears, 232; Tosk-Greek Scriptures prohibited, 232
Alexander II., Czar, Scriptures presented, 111, 343, 347; assassination, 353
Alford, Bishop, 12; work in China, 445-46
American Bible Society, 76; jubilee, 77-78, 251-52
Amirkhanjanz, Rev. A., 356; sub-agent Tiflis, 362
Anglesea Auxiliary, 44
Anjero of Kagoshima, meeting with Xavier, 457-58; reported translation of Scriptures, 459*n*
Apocrypha, the, 81, 86, 156, 200-1
"Apostles' Way, the," 268-69
Arabia, colportage from Bombay, 406
Arctic Expedition, Austrian, 193
Aristias, Prof., Rouman version, 214, 221
Arthington, Mr R., 210, 403*n*, 407, 431
Athanasius Matthew, Mar, encourages Bible-reading in Malabar, 417
Atkinson, Mr Jasper, an old supporter, 69
Austria-Hungary, the Concordat, 83; war with Italy, 89; concessions, 95; agency formed — depôts at Vienna, Pesth, etc., 96; after Sadowa, 101; social condition, 188; press laws — licences, 189-90; priestly opposition, 192; increased restrictions — larger sales, 208-9; issues—expenditure, 210
Bohemia, Huss quincentenary revival, 195; Scriptures in schools —sales to soldiers stopped, 196
Carinthia, *Carniola*, *Croatia*, checks — progress, 193-94, 200, 203, 209
Dalmatia, 193
Galicia, Jews—showmen, 197, 209
Hungary, free licences — Romish opposition—scepticism, 200-1
Salzburg, 195
Slavonia, 200, 203
Styria, old hidden Bibles, 209
Tyrol, priests—Zillerthal revisited—colporteur Rauch murdered, 194-95, 209
Transylvania, opposition of United Greek Church — Apocrypha difficulty, 200-1
Auxiliary system, the, 11-21
Azores, the, 185

BAGLEY, W. PAUL, American evangelist, 430, 443*n*
Baker, Rev. H., Malayalam version, 416
Balascescu, Prof., Rouman version, 221
Barclay, Bishop of Jerusalem, Vice-President, 259*n*
Barker, Mr B., agent in Levant, 214
Barrow-in-Furness, 39
Bayswater Auxiliary, 44
Beamish, Miss, France, 140; Algiers, 249; Holy Land pilgrims, 258
Belfast Address, Tyndall's, 9

Belge, Société Evangélique, 286, 291
Belgium, opposition — colportage — Belgian societies, 285-87; death of John Kirkpatrick — William agent, 288; scepticism — credulity, 288-89; old Reformation churches — visitors from England, 290-92; Luxemburg, 290, 293; Franco-German war, 293; condition of Belgium, 294-95; notable colporteurs, 296; distribution — expenditure, 297
Benevolent Fund, 62
Bergne, Rev. S. B., Secretary, 4, 29; tour in Palestine and Egypt, 215-16
Berlin Agency, 81; issues, 83, 85, 99; Dr Simon agent, 96; total distribution, 155
Bettelheim, Dr, Luchu version, 460, 464
Bible, the "Hohenzollern," 84-85
Bible in War, the, 18*n*—
American war, 76-77
Prusso-Danish, 100, 315
Austro-Prussian, 100, 101
French Expedition to Mexico, 106
Franco-German, 103, 112; preparation of German Agency, 113; German colporteurs, 114-17; surrender of Sedan, 115; German "memorial Testaments," 117; colporteurs "decorated," 117*n*; French colporteurs, 118-19; French "memorial Testaments" —total distribution and cost, 120; effects in Africa, 248; Belgium, 293; Holland, 304
Servo-Turkish, 204
Russo - Turkish, colporteurs — prisoners aided, 205-6; Messrs Sellar and Kantor honoured by Czar, 207; Syria, 257; Russia, 357
Egypt, Arabi insurrection, 264, 406
Abyssinian Expedition, 270, 406
Bible House, the New, 2-5; dedication, 7-8; building fund, 5-6, 45
—— ——, the Old, farewell service, 6
Bible Society, the, cheap Scriptures, 62-63; care for the people, 70, 72-73 (*see* Disasters); increased circulation, 22; receipts and outlay, 20-22; grants to schools and institutions, 17-18; periodicals, 60; spiritual influences, 10, 18-20
Biblewoman, the first, 14-16
Biblewomen in the East, 425
Binney, Rev. Dr T., 4, 7
Birch, Rev. G. T., District-secretary, 40, 49
Bismarck, Prince, and colporteur, 149*n*
Black, Rev. R., District-secretary, 51
Blackheath Auxiliary, 44
Blind, Scriptures for the—Switzerland, 99; France, 108; Spain, 172; Syria, 252-53; Egypt, 261; Holland, 300; Russia, 353; China, 440
——, gleaner, story of the, 70
Bockett, Mr John, Treasurer, 3, 25
Boinville, Rev. C. de, District-secretary, 47
Bom, Mr Van der, agent in Holland, 8, 298, 305
Bonaparte, Prince Louis Lucien, gift of versions, 352*n*
Borrow, George, death, 62; legacy from his step-daughter, 62*n*
Bosnia, 207, 223, 228
Bourne, Mr T. J., District-secretary, 37
Bower, Rev. Dr H., Tamil version, 414-15
Braithwaite, Mr J. Bevan, member of Committee, visits Odessa and Tiflis, 363
Bristol Auxiliary, jubilee, 37
Brodie, Rev. D., District-secretary, 47
Brown, Mr J. J., Assistant Secretary, 31
——, Dr Nathan, Japanese version, 466
Browne, Rev. G., Secretary, historian, 6
Bruce, Dr J. Collingwood, 12, 23
——, Rev. R., Persian version, 358; agent in Persia, 359, 365-66
——, Mr T. H., 8, 90; agent in Italy, 92-93, 130
Bryant, Rev. E., agent in China, 451
Buckley, Rev. Dr, Uriya version, 387
Bulgaria, desire for Scriptures—National Church, 213; opposition of Greek ecclesiastics, 217; colportage, 218-20; progress—reaction, 233-34
Bulgarian Evangelical Society, 220, 234
Burma, missions supplied—"baptism" difficulty, 436-37; Bible and Tract Society—books for schools—grant for colportage 247-48
Burn, Rev. A., Sindhi version, 404-5

CAMBRIAN societies, 42, 56
Campbell, Rev. C., Kanarese version, 418*n*
Canary Islands, 185
Cape Verd Island, 185
Carlisle, Bishop of (Dr Waldegrave), 4, 65
"Carmen Sylva," Queen of Roumania, 209
Caroline Amalie, Queen Dowager of Denmark, 313, 317
Charles XV. of Sweden, jubilee of Swedish Bible Society, 334
Charles of Bala, statue, 68*n*

Chester Lead Works, 35
Children, a blind gleaner, 70; associations—contributions, 5-6, 44-45, 52; rescued by a colporteur, 204-5; the child missionary of St Erth, 71; Shagdur's little son, 444-45*n*
China, Million Testament scheme and fund, 434, 436; great names in the fifties, 435; sales introduced, 436; Treaty of Tientsin—missionary Bible tours, 437-39; work in the South—the martyr Ch'eä, 439-40; Amoy—Formosa, 440; free distribution stopped, 441; Alexander Wylie—colportage, 436, 441; journey with Griffith John—fate of colporteur Johnson, 442-44; Auxiliaries Shanghai and Hong-Kong—corresponding committees, 445-46; Mr Wylie succeeded by Mr Dyer, 448; dread of Christian sorcery, 449; China Inland Mission, 450; funds for China—European colporteurs—Rev. E. Bryant agent, 451; Manchuria—Korea—Formosa—Hainan, 452-53; incidents, 453-54; distribution—expenditure, 456; Chinese abroad, 456
Christian IX., King of Denmark, favours to the Society, 316, 317
Christopher, Canon, Hon. Life-Governor, 12
Christophorides, Constantine, Albanian versions, 224-25, 227
Clark, Rev. R., secretary Panjab Auxiliary, 359, 396, 401
Cleopatra's Needle, Scriptures under, 61
Close, Dean, 33, 69
Cohen, Rev. J. I., District-secretary, 47
Cole, Rev. F. T., Santal version, 386
Coles, Mr W., Vice-President, 68
Cologne Agency, 80-81; issues, 83, 85, 99; united to Frankfort, 95; total distribution, 155
Colportage at home, cost, 13; notable men, 56-57
Colporteurs abroad, disappearance of Sosnovski, 232; of Garuti, 160; fate of Mr Johnson, 442-44; murder of Karl Rauch, 195
Continental tours, 53-54
Coote, Mr A. C. P., District-secretary, 51
Corfield, Mr R., agent in Spain, 171, 179
Corsica, 127, 142
Cossons, Mr J. R., Norfolk Auxiliary, 53
Cotton, Bishop, Vice-President, 380, 392
Cotton Famine, Lancashire, 18-20
Crete, 236
Crowe, Sir J. Rice, hon. representative in Norway, 329
Cunningham, Rev. J. W., Hon. Life Governor, 64
Curie, Rev. J. G., agent Madrid, 169
Cust, Mr R. Needham, member of Committee, Kabyle version, 250
Cyprus, 237-39

Damascus, the Great Mosque — text over portal, 256-57
Daniçiç, D. G., Servian version, 98
Darling, Grace, 54
Davidson, Mr A., sub-agent Albania, 224; Crete, 227, 236
——, Rev. G., District-secretary, 51, 53
Davies, Rev. G. Palmer, agent in Germany, 7, 82, 153, 362
Dawson, Rev. J., Gond version, 397
Dehon, veteran French colporteur, 139
Delitzsch, Prof. F., 151-52
Denmark, Danish Bible Society, 312; Royal Orphan House and the Society—good offices of the King, 313-17; agency changes, 315; depôts—colportage, 318-19; distribution—expenditure, 320
Denninger, Rev. J., Nias version, 431
Descent of Man, The, 9
Disasters, earthquake in Ischia, 127; floods in France, 141; floods in Germany, 154-55; landslip in Switzerland, 160
District-secretaries, 11-13; districts in 1854, 32; a tragic year, 40; new methods, 46; number in fourth period, 56
Donations and legacies, 21, 69-70
Dorp, Isaac Van, old Dutch colporteur—the lighted window of Rotterdam, 301-3, 304, 307
Droese, Rev. E., Malto version, 388
Dudley, Mr C. Stokes, chief of District-secretaries, 38
Duff, Dr, 8
Duffus, Rev. W., Swatow Colloquial, 455
Dyer, Mr S., agent in China, 448, 451
Dykes, Rev. J. O., 12

Earl Street, farewell service, 6
Eck, Mr A., agent for North Russia, 341, 343
Eckenstein, Mr A., agency correspondent, 31
Edkins, Rev. J., Chinese versions, 435; journeys, 438-39, 445
Edmonds, Canon, 12, 30, 42, 48
Edwards, Rev. Allen T., District-secretary, 43

Edwards, Mr G. T., District-secretary, 32, 39, 48; a retrospect, 53; notable places and people, 54
Egypt, 215; Alexandria—Cairo, 216; co-operation with American societies, 259-61; colportage—Suez Canal—Nile, 261; other workers, 262; the Arabi rising—claim for loss withdrawn, 263-64; agency founded — Rev. R. H. Weakley, 264-65
Ellicott, Bishop (Gloucester), accession to the Society, 8-9
Elliot, Rev. R., 12*n*
Elsner, Mr, Scriptures for Prussian Army, 81; *see* Prussia
England, mid-century changes, 1, 9, 39
Essays and Reviews, 10
Eugénie, Empress, 106; the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn, 288; a strange conjuncture, 293
Europe, Central—*see* Germany
Evangeline, the, 55
Exhibitions, Bible-work at—Amsterdam 1869, 304; ditto 1883, 308; Brussels 1880, 395; Düsseldorf 1880, 156; London 1862, 59; Paris 1867, 110-12; ditto 1878, 136-37; Vienna 1873, 190; a Japanese inquirer, 191; Zürich 1883, 161

Families, old Bible Society, 64, 66*n*, 69
Farmer, Mr T., member of Committee, 64
Faroe Islands, 320
Fernley, Mr John, Southport, generous gifts, 48
Finch, Mr Charles, Assistant Foreign Secretary, 28
Fitzpatrick, Mr H., colportage director, Madras, 410; secretary to Madras Auxiliary, 411, 413
Flad, Mr, missionary in Abyssinia, 266-67, 272, 274, 276-77
Fleming, Canon, 12
Fordham, Mr J. Hampden, member of Committee, 12
Forster, Mr Josiah, member of Committee, 6, 25, 65
France, Bible Society of, 109
France, colportage—distribution 1854-70 —Protestant worship licensed, 104-5; expedition to Mexico—Ultramontane opposition, 106-7; last days of the Empire, 107-8; Exhibition 1867 — presentation to Emperor, 110-12; Franco-German war, 103, 113-20 (*see* Bible in War); death of M. de Pressensé, 119; M. Monod agent, 133; colportage on new lines, 133-36; Roman Catholic call for the Bible—anti-clerical reaction—unbelief among Protestants, 136-38; scenes of colportage, 139-43; Bible and Tract depôt—M'All Mission, 143; tours of District-secretaries, 143; Brittany, 143; distribution—expenditure, 145
Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 191; Bible presented, 208
Frankfort Agency, 79-80; issues, 83, 85; Switzerland attached, 84-87; Cologne united to Frankfort, 95; issues, 99; total distribution, 155
Franklin relics, 58-59
Frederick William IV. of Prussia, 80, 95
Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, 111
French and Foreign Bible Society, 109
French, Bishop, in Persia, 367; patron of Panjab Auxiliary, 401
Frere, Sir Bartle, 385*n*, 407
Frost, Rev. R., Secretary, 24
Fyson, Rev. P. K., Japanese version, 468

Galla Maiden, the, and Abyssinia, 266
Gates, Mr Robert, Penrith Auxiliary, 54
George, King of Greece, Bible presented, 239
Germany, Dr Pinkerton agent for Central Europe, 79; agencies formed at Cologne, 80: Berlin, 81; death of Pinkerton—Mr Palmer Davies, 82-83; Switzerland added to Frankfort Agency, 84, 87; Cologne joined to Frankfort, 95; Austrian Agency founded, 96; Auxiliaries at Stuttgart, Dresden, etc.—Sunday school movement, 98-99; Luther Memorial at Worms, 112; Franco-Prussian war 113-20 (*see* Bible in War); Germany under one agent, 113; proposed National Bible Society, 146, 152; Old Catholics, 147, 150; incidents of colportage, 147-49; German Bible Societies, 150; the *Wanderjahre*, 151; jubilee of agency — retrospect, 153; death of Mr Palmer Davies—Mr J. Watt succeeds, 153; Bibles presented to royalties, 153-54; gifts to the Society—distribution and expenditure of the period, 155—*see* Prussia
Gibraltar, supplies to Spain, 162; garrison work, 163; first public meeting, 179
Gill, Rev. Dr, work among the young, 44-45

Girdlestone, Canon, Editorial Superintendent, 12, 27
Gloucester, Bishop of—*see* Ellicott
Glyn, Rev. Carr J., 12, 39, 53, 168, 292
Goble, Rev. Jonathan, Japanese version, 461; invented the jin-riki-sha, 461*n*
Gogerly, Rev. D. J., Sinhali version, 421
Golden Roses, 169, 172
Gordon, Rev. G. Maxwell, heroic death at Kandahar, 406
Graham, Rev. W. H., District-secretary, 44
Graydon, Lieutenant, Switzerland, 79, 86; Sardinia, 88; Sicily, 90; resigns, 92
Greece, unfavourable prospect, 215; added to Turkish Agency, 217; Bible presented to King George, 239; "Hellenism" and Greek Church—united action with American Bible Society, 239-40; Dr Kalopothakes sub-agent—struggle for Modern Greek version and Scriptures in schools, 241-42; distribution, 242
Griffiths, Rev. H., District-secretary Wales, 49
Grönberg, Rev. N. P., representative in Denmark, 313
Gruet, Mlle., Switzerland, 86, 160-61
Guizot, M., Protestant Bible Society of Paris, 109
Gundert, Rev. Hermann, Malayalam version, 416

HAFFENDEN, Mr J., agent in Malaysia, 432-33
Hall, Mr G., District-secretary, 40
Hankey, Mr W. Alers, member of first Committee, 64
Hardeland, Mr, Dyak version, 431
Harrowby, Second Earl of, Vice-President, 68
Havelock, Sir Henry, 44
Hay, Rev. John, Telugu version, 415-16
Hedger, Mr, superintendent of colportage Madras Auxiliary, 372, 409-10
Henderson, Dr, death, 75
Hepburn, Dr, Japanese version, 467-68
Herdman, Rev. J. C., hon. secretary Calcutta Auxiliary, 370
Hewlett, Rev. J. P., District-secretary, 38, 39*n*, 42, 46-47, 60
Heyde, Rev. A. W., Tibetan version, 400
Hibernian Bible Society, 74
Hill, Rev. J. H., District-secretary, 44
——, Rev. S. J., Mussulman-Bengali version, 380
Hitchin, Mr W., Accountant, 28
Hoare, Mr Joseph, Treasurer, 25
Hoernle, Rev. C. T., Urdu version, 396-97
Hollams Sons, Coward & Hawksley, hon. solicitors, 26
Holland, condition of country, 298; "Bible school" movement, 299-301, 306, 307; opposition in Limburg, 299-300; jubilee of Netherlands Bible Society, 300; the "lighted window of Rotterdam," 301-3, 304, 307; colportage, 305, 307, 309; revival wave, 305-6; death of Mr Van der Bom, 305; resignation of Mr Reessé—Mr H. Grelinger succeeds, 308; the Society prepares to withdraw, 308; the "Jansenist" Church, 310; distribution—expenditure, 311
Hughes, Rev. T. P., Pashtu version, 398
Humbert, King of Italy, Bible presented, 129
Hunt, Rev. R. G., District-secretary, 51
Hutchinson, Rev. A. B., Punti Psalter, 455
Hyacinthe, Père, 108, 123

I'ANSON, Mr EDWARD, architect of new Bible House, 3
Iceland, 321-22
Ilminski, Professor, Kazan-Tartar translation, 349
India, outlook of Auxiliaries, 370-71; the Mutiny, 372-76; the Society's losses, 373, 394, 396; good out of evil, 374; fresh supplies—the men who saved India, 375-76; Christian rule proclaimed, 377; premature agency scheme, 381-82, 411; Dr Murdoch's school distribution plan, 382-83; Prince of Wales' tour—famine of 1876-78, 385; Dr Wilson's University project, 408; distribution—expenditure, India and Ceylon, 424
Calcutta Auxiliary, during the Mutiny, 379; jubilee, 380; Colonel Lamb's tour, 381-82; Calcutta Bible Association absorbed—Lieutenant-Colonel Roxburgh's colportage fund, 383; sales *versus* gift—distribution to schools, 384; Bible House built, 384-85; new versions, 386-91; colporteurs—call for special agent, 391; distribution—expenditure, 391; presidents and friends, 392
North India Auxiliary, demand for Scriptures—colportage—new Bible House, 377-79; lines of progress, 393-97; call for special

India—*Continued*
agent—circulation — expenditure, 397
Panjab Auxiliary, founded, 378; version work, 397-400; depôts—colportage, 401; Sindh added—distribution—expenditure, 402
Bombay Auxiliary, method of work, 402-3; quarterly prayer meeting, 405; efforts in Arabia, Persia, 406-7; effect of Bible-work, 407; issues—expenditure — request for an agent, 408
Madras Auxiliary, gratis distribution stopped, 409, 411; bold organisation—colportage, 409-12; jubilee, 411; new depôt—Rev. S. W. Organe secretary — work in schools, 412-13; Union Tamil version, 414-15; Syro-Chaldaic Christians, 417; rapid expansion —circulation—expenditure, 420
Bangalore Branch, becomes Auxiliary, 412, 418; distribution—expenditure, 419
Ceylon, Colombo Auxiliary, 421; Kandy Auxiliary, 422; Jaffna union mission work, 422-24
Indiscriminate distribution, evil of—Italy, 125; France, 143; Syria, Palestine, 256, 258; Belgium, 294—*see* Sales
Ireland, Hibernian Bible Society—Sunday School Association, 74-75
Isabella of Spain, 169
Isenberg, Rev. C. W., Sindhi version, 405
Italy, obstacles — Piedmont — Sardinia, 87-88; Bible work in Crimea—war with Austria, 89; depôt in Florence—Garibaldi in Sicily, 90; the Bible sold in Naples—Papal States freed, 91; Mr T. H. Bruce appointed agent, 92; the "power of the keys"—colporteurs' trials, 93-94; Naples Bible Society—Syllabus of Pius IX., 94; Venetia free, 95, 101; the Œcumenical Council —Papal Infallibility, 102-3; Italian army enters Rome—Bible-reading in Coliseum, 120; end of the "temporal power," 121; Cardinal Antonelli—Italian Bible Society founded, 122-23; Italy in the seventies, 123-27; first Bible Society meeting in Rome—first Protestant Church, 128-29; death of Mr Bruce—Rev. A. Meille, 130; the Propaganda supplied — religious condition of Italy, 131; total distribution, 132

Jackson, Rev. C., Secretary, 4, 24, 29
Jacobleff, Mr, Chuvash translation, 349
James, Rev. J. Angell, death, 64
Jansenists, 310*n*
Janvier, Dr, Panjabi scholar, 398
Japan—Francis Xavier—Christianity exterminated, 457-59; Treaty ports opened — first Protestant missions — noble converts, 460-62; first congregation, 463; story of Niisima, 464-66; translations, 466-68; Mr Wylie's visits — corresponding committee — first colporteurs, 468-69; remarkable Christian demonstration, 470; Rev. I. J. Taylor agent—combined action of societies, 470-71; distribution—expenditure—changes in thirty years, 472-73
Jäschke, Rev. H. A., Tibetan version, 399-400
Jenkins, Rev. John, Breton version, 144
Jeremiassen, Dr, volunteer in Hainan, 453
Jews, work among, Italy, 128; Germany, 153; Galicia (Austria), 197; Poland, 199; Hungary, 201; Crete, 236; North Africa, 244; Isle of Djerba, 248; Abyssinia, 267, 269, 272; Turkestan, 354; beside the Tigris, 367; China, 442
Jin-riki-sha, invented by Rev. J. Goble, 461*n*
John, Griffith, 437, 442-44
Johnson, Bishop, patron Calcutta Auxiliary, 392
——, Mr S., tragic death in China, 442-44
Jones, Captain H. M., representative in Norway, 329
——, Mr T. of Caer-Groes, generous gifts, 69-70
Jukes, Rev. W., Pashtu version, 398

Kalopothakes, Dr, sub-agent in Greece, 215, 240-41
Keasberry, Rev. B. P., work at Singapore, 429-30
Kelling, Rev. F., Sangir version, 431-32; the eruption of Ruang, 432
Kent, Rev. P., District-secretary, 40
Kinnaird, Hon. A., 4
Kirby, Mr T. J., sub-agent Malta and Alexandria, 245, 261, 263-65
Kirkpatrick, Mr John, agent at Brussels, 288
——, Mr W. H., agent at Brussels, 288
Kirkpatricks, of Closeburn, the, 288; a strange conjuncture, 293

Knolleke, Mr H., Assistant Foreign Secretary, 28; in Norway, 323-24
Krapff, Johann Ludwig, the Abyssinian Expedition, 270; death, 276-77; his African project, 284

LAMB, COLONEL, Indian tour of inquiry, 381-82
Lancashire, the Cotton Famine, 16, 18-20
Lansdell, Rev. H., crosses Siberia, 350-51
Lawrence, Sir John, 44
Lechler, Rev. R., Hakka Colloquial, 446
Legacies and donations, 21, 69-70
Leo XIII., Encyclical—religious liberty and Protestantism anathematised, 129
Lewis, Rev. W. Dickens, District-secretary Wales, 41, 49
——, Rev. W., Khasi version, 389
Lister, Ephraim, District-secretary assistant, 39
Liverpool and Manchester Auxiliaries, jubilee, 36
Livingstone, Dr, 282
Loch, Hon. G., president Calcutta Auxiliary, 381
London Auxiliaries, redivision, re-organisation, 43-46; Bayswater, 44; Blackheath, 44; London East, 44*n*; Southwark, 44; Westminster, 43
——, growth of population, 43; shipping, 45; birth and death rate, 47
——, rate of contribution, 44, 47
——, Lord Mayors and the Society—Warren Stormes Hale, 3; Sir B. Phillips, 5
London, loss of the, 45*n*
Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury, 59
Lönnrot (compiler of the *Kalevala*), Russ-Lapp Gospel, 352
Löwenthal, Isidore, Pashtu version, 396
Lowndes, Rev. I., agent at Malta, 215; version work and death, 216
Luther, Memorial at Worms, 112-13; quatercentenary, 156
"Luther's First Study of the Bible," 61

MACBRIDE, Principal, Oxford, 65
Macdonald, George, the poet and novelist, 54
MacGregor, Mr John ("Rob Roy"), 12
"Mackay of Uganda," 283
Mackintosh, Mr W., agent in Morocco, 250-51
Madagascar, Premier's son a Juvenile secretary, 52
Madeira, 185
Magazines, the Society's, 60
Magnússon, Mr E., Icelandic version, 321
Malaysia, 429; co-operation with Dutch and German missions, 431; the island tongues — Rev. F. Kelling, Sangir Islands, 431-32; Mr Haffenden agent, 432-33
Malta, 214-15; decline—added to Italian Agency, 244-47
Manchester and Liverpool Auxiliaries, jubilee, 36; new Bible House, 48
Manning, Dr, survey of Society's work, 22-23, 262
Manningford Bruce, gala days, 49-50
Marks, Dr, Royal Burmese scholars, 427-28
Marlborough, Seventh Duke of, Vice-President, 69
Marpingen "Apparitions," 150
Mary Jones and her Bible, French translation, 134; Dutch, 309
Mason, Dr F., Karen translation, 426-27
Mather, Rev. R. Cotton, Urdu version, 396-97
Mayer, Rev. T. J. Lee, Pashtu version, 398
——, Rev. W., Rouman version, 222
Medhurst, Dr, missionary in China, 435; Mandarin version, 445
Mee, Rev. John, Secretary, Dean of Grahamstown, 24
Meille, Rev. A., agent in Italy, 130
Meller, Rev. T. W., Editorial Superintendent, 26-27
Mellus, Bishop, encourages colportage in Malabar, 417
Melville, Mr, representative in Russia, 341, 346
Methuen, Rev. T. A., 11*n*
Mexico, French expedition to, 106
Middlesboro', 39
Milan, Prince, Bible presented, 202; (King of Servia), 209
Millard, Mr Edward, 7, 79, 81; Austrian Agency, 96
——, Mr N. B., 79, 95
Miller, Rev. J. D., District-secretary, 37, 40
Milman, Bishop, patron Calcutta Auxiliary, 392
Mirrielees, Mr, agent in Russia, 340
Mitchell, Rev. St J., representative in Norway, 329
Mitchinson, Bishop, Vice-President, 12
Mitylene, old superstitions—Pilo's work, 236-37
Moffat, Dr, 12
Mohn, Mr C. J., Bergen Sub-agency, Norway, 323, 331
Mollmann, Mr, colporteur in China, 442, 450

Moltke, Count, 149
Monod, M. Gustave, agent for France, 133
Montalembert, the Ultramontanes, 106
Montenegro, 226
Moore, Mr George, Vice-President, 3, 54, 67
Morgan, Rev. D. Parker, District-secretary, 47
Morris, Mr Henry, member of Committee, 12
Morrison, Mr Michael A., agent in Russia, 357
Mtesa, King of Uganda, Stanley's Bible—the name of Jesus saluted, 283
Muir, Sir W., president Calcutta Auxiliary, 376, 379, 392
Muirhead, Rev. W., secretary Shanghai, 435-37; Shanghai colloquial version, 456
Mullens, Rev. Dr, secretary Calcutta Auxiliary, 380-81
Murdoch, Dr, 382, 384, 422

NAPOLEON III., Bible presented, 111-12; surrender at Sedan, 115
Nazarenes, 203
Newcastle Auxiliary, jubilee, 33-34
Nicolson, Rev. W., agent in Russia, 343
Niisima, Osaki, story of his quest for God, 464-66
Noel, Hon. and Rev. Baptist, 12, 66
Nommensen, Rev. J. L., Toba Testament, 431
Norfolk Auxiliary, 52-53
Norman, Sir H. Wylie, president Calcutta Auxiliary, 392
Norway, sub-agencies visited, 323-24; colporteurs' journeys, 323-25, 326-27, 331-32; revival in Tromsö, 325; Mormons, 328; representatives—old friends, 329-30; views of Norwegian Bible Society, 330-31; issues—expenditure, 332
Nottrott, Rev. C. A., Mundari version, 386-87
Nyika, story of a Gospel, 282*n*

OLDCASTLE, SIR JOHN, 15
Olney Branch, revival after twenty years, 34
Organe, Rev. S. W., seeretary to Madras Auxiliary, 413
Oriental Congress 1873, diploma and medal to the Society — 1874, visit to Bible House, 51

PAGE, REV. J. A., District-secretary, 5, 32, 48, 51-52
Palestine—*see* Syria
Palmer, Rev. E. Reeves, agent in Spain, 179
Palmerston, Lord, 59
Paris, Protestant Bible Society of, 109
Pashtu New Testament, a last copy, 395
Paterson, Dr, 75
Pauline Fatme and Abyssinia, 266
Paull, Rev. W. Major, District-secretary, 48
Payne, Rev. J. E., Mussulman-Bengali version, 390
Pease, Mr Joseph, M.P., Vice-President, 66
Peploe, Prebendary Webb, 12
Period, summary of the Fourth, 20-23
Perkins, Rev. Richard, District-secretary, 48
Persia, mission work, 358; colportage from Bombay, 408; Mr Watt's tour—agency founded, 358-59; Baghdad depôt—Rev. R. Bruce agent, 365-66; colportage—expenditure, 367-69
Phillips, Rev. Dr, District-secretary Wales, 6, 40-42
——, Major Scott, District-secretary, 43
Photinoff, Constantine, Bulgarian Scriptures, 219
Pinkerton, Dr, 79, 82-83
Piton, Rev. C. P., Hakka version, 455
Pius IX., the Syllabus, 94-95; the Great Council—Infallibility proclaimed, 102-3; death—Bible progress, 129
Plenge, Rev. J., agent in Denmark, 8, 315, 319
Poland, 79; attached to Austrian Agency, 96-97; supplies for soldiers, colleges, 198; condition of the Churches, 199
Poor, gifts from the, 70
Portugal, reaction against Ultramontanism — agent appointed, 164; struggle for religious freedom—versions, 165; effects of colportage, 166; priestly opposition, 167-68, 180; anti-Romanist press, stage, 181; civil reforms, 181-82; return of Jesuits—abuse of burial laws, 183-84, 186-87; expenditure—circulation, 185-86
Powell, Rev. E. P., District-secretary, 49
Pressensé, M. de, 7; Franco-German war, 118; death, 119
Prim, General, gives the Bible free course in Spain, 169; assassinated, 174
Prime Ministers and the Society, 59
Propaganda, the, purchases the Society's Hebrew Bibles, 131
Prussia, distribution to the Army, Mr Elsner, 81; Major Westphal, 154

RADLEY, MR JOHN, member of Committee, 65
Railway stations, grants for, 18
Raine, Rev. I., District-secretary, 49
Ranyard, Mrs, 14, 17
Rauch, colporteur, murdered, 195
Rebmann, Johann, East Africa, 278-79
Redcliffe, Lord Stratford de, 68
Reden, Countess of, 194*n*
Redslob, Rev. F. A., work in the Himalayas, 400
Reed, Rev. C. E. B., Secretary, 29; at Odessa and Tiflis, 363
——, Sir Charles, M.P., 68
Reessé, Mr H. J., agent in Holland, 305, 308
Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 108
Revised Version, Society's rules, 62
Rice, Rev. B., Kanarese version, 418*n*
Richardson, Mr George, Newcastle, 33
——, Mr Henry, Newcastle, 34
Ridley, Bishop, 55
Robbins, Rev. G., District-secretary, 40, 51
Robertson, Rev. J. S., president Bombay Auxiliary, 404*n*
Rohtlieb, Rev. J., Swedish agent, 332, 336
"Rose" meetings, 49-50
Roughton, Rev. F. H., agent at Lisbon, 164
Roumania, 201, 213-14; rapid progress, 221; transferred to Austrian Agency, 222—*see* 203; Bible to King Charles, 209
Roxburgh, Lieut.-Col., colportage fund, 383
Royal Family, the, presentations from the Society, 58; Duke of Edinburgh, 347; Prince of Wales, 385
Rüdt, Baroness de, the "wandering" journeymen, 151
Russia, relations with the Holy Synod, 341, 348; concessions, 353; distribution and expenditure in the agencies, 363-64
North Russia, Mr Mirrielees resigns, 340; Mr Eck, 341-43; Rev. W. Nicolson—north division—Siberia, 345; Scriptures in schools, 348; north-east governments—Siberian exiles, 349-51; Finland—north-west governments, 351-52; Mennonite exodus—Mr Sharp's visit—Sixpenny Russ Testament, 355; depôts—circulation, 355*n*
South Russia, Mr Melville's journeys, 341; Mr J. Watt assistant, 342; Mr Watt agent—extensive colportage, 346; the Caucasus, 356; Russo-Turkish war—*see* Bible in War; Mr M. A. Morrison at Tiflis, 357; succeeds Mr Watt, 362; visit of Mr J. B. Braithwaite and Mr Reed, 363
Agency of the Caucasus, 359-61; work in Turkestan, 362-63

SAILORS' Society, British and Foreign, 45
Sales *versus* free distribution, India, 382, 384, 409, 411, 420, 424; China, 441, 455*n*
Sardinia, 88, 127
Schauffleur, Dr, Osmanli version, 230-31
Schereschewsky, Dr, Mandarin version, 445, 448
Schools, Society's grants to, 18
Schreiber, Dr A., Mandailing translation, 431
Scotland, National Bible Society, 75-76, 149
Scott, Captain F. H., Dakhani Genesis, 419
——, Rev. J. C., hon. secretary Agra Auxiliary, 372-73
Sdepan, Baron, Kurd Gospels, 212
Seamen's Bible Society, Merchant, 45
Sedan, surrender of Napoleon, curious coincidence, 115
Sell, Rev. E., Dakhani version, 419
Sellar, Mr W., depositary at Constantinople, 207
Servia, opposition overcome—Scriptures in schools, 202-3; Servo-Turkish war, 204
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 4, 7; at Carnarvon, 56; death of Lady Shaftesbury and Lady Constance Ashley, 60; portrait by Millais, 61; birthday, 62; the Emperor of the French, 111-12
Sharp, Rev. John, Secretary—descent from old Bible worthies, 30; visit to Russia, 355
Sheshadri, Dr Narrayen, 30, 355
Shirt, Rev. G., Sindhi version, 405
Shoa, King Menelik distributes—Roman Catholic Bishop friendly, 271, 274—*see* Abyssinia
Sicily, 127
Simon, Dr, Berlin Agency, 8, 96, 113
Singapore, Rev. B. P. Keasberry—Auxiliary formed, 429-30; agent appointed, 432—*see* Malaysia
Smythies, Bishop, Zanzibar, 281
Solicitors, hon., to the Society, 25-26
Sosnovski, colporteur, disappears, 232
Southwark Auxiliary, 44

Spain, glimpse of freedom, 162; "Protestant propagandists" imprisoned, 163; Queen Isabella, 168-69; Prim in power—Mr Curie agent, 169; Million Gospel fund—Mr Corfield agent—new schools, 170-74; law of "public manifestations"—Protestant funerals legalised, 175-77; colportage, 177-79; Mr Corfield's death, 179; distribution—expenditure, 180
Spaulding, Dr, Tamil version—Jaffna Auxiliary, 423-24
Speke, discovery of the Victoria Nyanza, 284
Spencer, Rev. W., District-secretary, 37, 47
Spittler, Christian Frederic, philanthropist, 266-69
St Giles's Fields, 14
St Gothard Tunnel, work among Italian labourers, 159
Stanley, Dean, 4, 347
Steere, Bishop, 278-81
Steinkopff, Dr, 64
Stewart, Rev. R., agent in Portugal, 181
Stoughton, Dr J., Vice-President, 12
Stowell, Canon, 12, 65
Stratton, Mr J., Hon. Life Governor, 49-50
Stritar, Prof., Sloven version, 210
Stronach, Rev. J., Mandarin version, 445
Suffolk, East, jubilee, 38
Sumner, Archbishop, 64
——, Bishop, 67
Sunday schools—Germany, 98*n*, 154; Austria, 191; Hungary, 209
Swallow, Mr C., District-secretary, 32, 48
Swan, Rev. W., 75, 444
Sweden, co-operation of the people, 337; jubilee of Swedish Bible Society—patronage of royal house, 334; large circulation — death of Dr Rohtlieb, 336; Rev. R. H. Weakley agent, 336; withdrawal of the Society, 337-39
Switzerland, 79, 84; Lieut. Graydon—Mlle. Gruet, 86; transfer to Frankfort Agency, 87; colportage, 98; religious troubles—the Swiss societies, 157-58; jubilee of Lausanne Bible Society, 160; disappearance of a colporteur, 161
Symons, Rev. Jelinger E., District-secretary, 52
Syria and Palestine, official visits, 215; Druse and Turk massacres, 216; British Syrian schools, 252-53; Kesrouan—the coast—Damascus, 253-56; the sale question, 257; work among pilgrims, 257-58; Bethlehem — Nazareth, 259

TAIT, ARCHBISHOP, 7, 68, 415
Taylor, Rev. I. J., agent in Japan, 470, 472
——, J. Hudson, China Inland Mission, 450
Theophilus, Rev. A., director of colportage, Madras, 411, 413
Thomas, Rev. J., District-secretary, 51
Thompson, Hon. A. Rivers, president Calcutta Auxiliary, 392
Thomson, Archbishop, 4, 59
——, Rev. A., agent in Turkey, 216
——, Rev. F. D., District-secretary, 49
Thornton, Mr John, second Treasurer, 24
Thorold, Rev. A., 16
Tibet, 398-400
Tiddy, Rev. W. P., District-secretary, 43; visits Portugal, 165; visits Belgium, 290-91
Tindale Monument, Nibley Knoll, 59-60
Tours, Continental, 53, 143-44
Trevelyan, Sir C., 4
Turkestan, Bible-work, 354-55, 362-63
Turkey (in Europe), Charter of Rights—range of agency, 212; scarcity of men—mission help, 213; death of Mr Barker, 214; Rev. A. Thomson agent, 216; Turkish bad faith, 217-18; work with other societies—Turkish atrocities, 220; Thessaly, 226-27; colportage round Constantinople — new Bible House—the Auxiliary, 228-29; Government imprint on Scriptures, 231; Russo-Turkish war—*see* Bible in War; brigandage—work checked, 232; more official difficulties, 234-35
—— (in Asia), persecution, 213; Smyrna—west coast—islands, 235-37; Black Sea provinces, 237-38; distribution—expenditure in agency, 242-43
Tynewydd pit disaster, 72-73

UGANDA, Stanley's Bible — C.M.S. Mission — Mtesa's salute — Alexander Mackay, 283-84
Ullmann, Rev. J. F., Urdu version, 375

VAN DYCK, DR, Arabic version, 215, 251-52
Van Dorp—*see* Dorp
Venn, Rev. John, Hon. Life Governor, 12
——, Rev. Henry, C.M.S. secretary, 66
—— family, 66*n*
Ventura, the guitar-maker, 186
Verbeck, Dr, Japanese version, 462, 468
Versions: *European*—
Albanian (Gheg, Tosk), 224-25 (Tosk-Greek), 232
Basque (French), 144

Versions—*Continued*
Breton, 144-45
Bulgarian, 219
Chuvash, 349
Danish, 316
Dutch, 299
Flemish, 296-97
French (Segond), 144, (Ostervald, Martin, De Sacy), 296
German (Van Ess), 83, (Luther), 157, (Platt-Deutsch), 151
Hungarian (Károli), 210
Icelandic, 321
Italian (Diodati), 128
Judæo-Polish, 199
Ladin (Oberland), 159
Lapp (Swedish), 337, (Russian), 352
Lithuanian, 355
Liv, 352
Maltese, 245
Osmanli, 218, 229-32
Perm, 352
Polish (Wuyk), 199, (Dantzic), 210
Portuguese (Almeida, Figueiredo), 165, 185
Provençal, 144
Rouman, 214, 221-22
Roumansch (Lower), 158, (Upper), 159
Russ, 348, 363
Ruthen, 198
Samogit, 98
Servian, 98, 202
Sloven, 193, 210
Syrjen, 353
Wend, 210
Wotjak (Votjak), 353
——, *Asiatic*—
Arabic (Van Dyck), 78, 215, 251-52
Ararat-Armenian, 357, 363
Armeno-Turkish, 230
Azerbijani, 357, 363
Batta (Toba, Mandailing), 431
Dyak, 431
Georgian, 357
Hebrew (Delitzsch), 151-52
Kalmuk, 353
Karen, 426-28
Kurd, 212
Malay (Keasberry), 429-30, (Low Malay), 430
Mongolian, 444-45
Nias, 431
Persian, 366
Sangir, 432
Sunda, 431
Tartar (Kazan), 349, (Kirghiz), 352
Wogul (Vogul), 351
——, *Indian*—
Assami, 389
Versions—*Continued*
Bengali, 380, 389-90
Chamba, 400
Dakhani, 419
Gond, 397
Gujarati, 403-4
Hindi, 394
Kanarese, 417-18
Kashmiri, 398
Khasi, 26, 388-9
Koi, 419
Lepcha, 388
Malayalam, 416
Malto, 388
Marathi, 404
Marwari, 405
Mundari, 386-87
Mussulman-Bengali, 390
Nepali, 388
Panjabi, 396, 398
Pashtu, 395-96, 398
Sanskrit, 390-91
Santali, 386
Sindhi, 404-5
Sinhali, 420-21
Tamil, 414-15, 423
Telugu, 415-16
Tibetan, 398-400
Urdu, 396-97
Uriya, 387
——, *Chinese*—
Amoy Colloquial, 455
Canton Colloquial (Punti), 445, 455
Fuchau Colloquial, 440
Hakka Colloquial, 446, 455
High Wenli, 435, 448
Mandarin Colloquial (Nankin, Pekin), 445
Ningpo Colloquial, 440-41, 456
Shanghai Colloquial, 456
——, *Japanese*, 466-68; Chinese (Kunten), 471
Luchu, 460, 464
——, *African*—
Amharic, 272
Bogos, 276
Galla, 271
Ganda (Luganda), 283-84
Kabyli, 250
Nyika, 282
Riff, 251
Swahali, 278-79, 280-81
Tigré, 270
Yao, 282
——, presented by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, 352*n*
——, Roman Catholic—Italy, 87; France, 136; Syria, 256; Belgium, 287; Spain, 184

Versions, Vulgate, need for, 63, 196, 296
Victoria, Queen, gift from, 5
Victoria Nyanza, discovered by Speke, 284

WADE, REV. T. R., Kashmiri version, 398
Wakelin, Mr W. P., Accountant, 28
Waldegrave, Bishop, 4, 65
Wales, Prince of, new Bible House, 3-5; in India, 385
Wales, standard version — Cambrian Societies, 42; Anglesea and London, 44; two divisions, 49; expansion—Carnarvon Auxiliary—among the hills—Merioneth—Cambrian Societies, 55-56
Ward, Mr E. M., R.A., picture of Luther, 61
Watt, Mr James, agent, 153, 342, 346
Weakley, Rev. R. H.—Smyrna, 235; Sweden, 336; Egypt, 265
Weitbrecht, Rev. H. U., Panjab Auxiliary, 402
Wenger, Rev. John, Bengali and Sanskrit versions, 389-90
Westminster Auxiliary, 43
Westphal, Major—*see* Prussia
Whately, Archbishop, 59
Wheeler, Rev. R. F., District-secretary, 43, 44
William I., of Prussia, 5, 95; Kaiser, 117*n*, 152
Wilson, Bishop, Calcutta, 380
——, Dr, Bombay Auxiliary, 407-8
——, Susan, of Ulpha, oldest collector, 54
Wingfield, Mr G., District-secretary, 37
Wiseman, Mr S., District-secretary, 52-53
Witchampton, Bible Day—the Golden Tree, 39
Withdrawal from Protestant countries, 31, 337-39
Wright, Rev. Dr W., Editorial Superintendent, 27-28, 256
Wriothesley, Rev. Lord, 4
Wylie, Mr Alexander, agent in China, 436, 438, 441-44, 447-48
——, Mr Macleod, Calcutta Auxiliary, 380-1

XAVIER, FRANCIS, mission to Japan, 457-58

YEZIDIS, so-called Devil-worshippers, 361
Yorkshire, 48; children's contributions, 52

ZANZIBAR, Bishop Steere—work and death, 278-81; survey of East Africa—Bishop Smythies, 281-82
Zillerthal revisited, 194

PRINTED AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS,
9 AND 11 YOUNG STREET

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 4444 04796 6312

DECK COLLECTIONS

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
CENTRAL SERVICE
GRAND ARMY PLAZA

3 4444 04796 6312